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**PROCEEDINGS**  
OF THE  
**MEETINGS OF THE CHAMBER OF  
PRINCES (NARENDRA MANDAL)**

*Held at New Delhi on the 28th March 1932 and  
following days.*

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## AGENDA.

### CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

*March-April 1932.*

1. Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to His Excellency Lord Willingdon as Viceroy of India.
2. Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal on the deaths of Their late Highnesses the Maharajas of Cochin, Benares and Idar, His late Highness the *ex-Raja* of Cochin, and the *ex-Raja* of Bilaspur.
3. Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to Their Highnesses of Travancore, Cochin, Bhavnagar, Idar and Benares, the Nawab Saheb of Loharu and the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot.
4. To receive a statement from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year.
5. To receive from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal the report circulated by Khan Bahadur Dewan Abdul Hamid, regarding his work as a representative of India at the last meeting of the League of Nations.
6. Resolution of thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for having taken up with His Highness the Chancellor and the representatives of the Chamber the questions of Paramountcy and Ceremonials.
7. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala that the membership of the Standing Committee may be increased to 9, the quorum being five, and that the election and other provisions relating to Substitute Members may be deleted.
8. Elections.
9. To receive a statement from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal regarding the work of the Indian States' Delegation to the Round Table Conference.
10. Resolutions regarding the work of the Indian States' Delegation to the Round Table Conference.
11. Acquisition of non-residential property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

12. Resolution of thanks by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to His Highness the Chancellor.

13. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Panna regarding the appreciation of the services rendered to the States by the Indian States' Delegation to the Round Table Conference.

**WORK-CARD.**

**Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal.)**

**(To be held in the Princes' Chamber, Council House, New Delhi, at 11 a.m., daily.)**

*March-April 1932.*

**Monday, the 28th March 1932.**

1. His Excellency the Viceroy will on arrival greet the Members and Representative Members who will be presented individually by His Highness the Chancellor.
2. Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to His Excellency Lord Willingdon as Viceroy of India. (Agendum No. 1.)
3. His Excellency the Viceroy will deliver an address.
4. Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal on the deaths of Their late Highnesses the Maharajas of Cochin, Benares and Idar, His late Highness the *ex-Raja* of Cochin and the *ex-Raja* of Bilaspur. (Agendum No. 2.)
5. Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to Their Highnesses of Travancore, Cochin, Bhavnagar, Benares and Idar, the Nawab Saheb of Loharn and the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot. (Agendum No. 3.)

**Tuesday, the 29th March 1932.**

1. To receive a statement from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year. (Agendum No. 4.)
2. To receive from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal the report circulated by Khan Bahadur Dewan Abdul Humid, regarding his work as a representative of India at the last meeting of the League of Nations. (Agendum No. 5.)

**Wednesday, the 30th March 1932.**

Free day.

**Thursday, the 31st March 1932.**

1. Resolution of thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for having taken up with His Highness the Chancellor and the representatives of the Chamber the questions of Paramountcy and Ceremonials. (Agendum No. 6.)
2. To receive a statement from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal regarding the work of the Indian States' Delegation to the Round Table Conference. (Agendum No. 9.)
3. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Panna regarding the appreciation of the services rendered to the States by the Indian States' Delegation to the Round Table Conference. (Agendum No. 13.)
4. Acquisition of non-residential property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs. (Agendum No. 11.)

**Friday, the 1st April 1932.**

1. Resolution regarding the work of the Indian States' Delegation to the Round Table Conference. (Agendum No. 10.)
2. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala that the membership of the Standing Committee may be increased to nine, quorum being five, and that the election and other provisions relating to Substitute Members may be deleted. (Agendum No. 7.)

**Saturday, the 2nd April 1932.**

1. Elections. (Agendum No. 8.)
2. Resolution of thanks by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to His Highness the Chancellor. (Agendum No. 12.)
3. Reply of the Members and Representative Members to His Excellency the Viceroy's Opening Address.
4. His Excellency the Viceroy will then conclude the proceedings.

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 1.**

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“ The Chamber of Princes offers a hearty welcome to His Excellency Lord Willingdon on his assumption of the office of Viceroy and Governor-General of India and tenders its sincerest good wishes to His Excellency.”

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 2.**

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“ The Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the lamentable demise of Their late Highnesses the Maharajas of Cochin, Idar and Benares, His late Highness the *ex*-Raja of Cochin and the *ex*-Raja Saheb of Bilaspur together with the sense of the loss thereby sustained by the entire Order of Princes, and offers its sincerest sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families.”

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 3.**

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:—

“ The Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Travancore, Cochin, Bhavnagar, Benares and Idar and the Nawab Saheb of Loharu and the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot on their assumption of powers and welcomes them all in its midst, wishing them a long and prosperous reign.”

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 6.**

The following resolution will be moved:—

“ The Chamber of Princes places on record its sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for having taken up with His Highness the Chancellor and the representatives of the Chamber the questions of Paramountcy and Ceremonials the early settlement of which is of vital importance to the States and expresses the earnest hope that they will be disposed of satisfactorily at the earliest possible date.”

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 7.**

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala:—

“ This Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that Part II of the First Regulations of the Chamber of Princes be amended in such a manner as to—

- (a) raise the number of the members of the Standing Committee to nine permanently, including the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor, quorum still remaining five and to eleven until the important work in connection with the Round Table Conference lasts; and
- (b) delete the provisions relating to election, etc., of the Substitute Members;

and that His Excellency the Viceroy be pleased to approve of and give effect to this change before the elections are held during this Chamber session.”

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 11.***Acquisition of non-residential property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.*

The question was last discussed by the Standing Committee at their meeting on the 7th March 1932 when they suggested certain alterations in the Summary in column I of the attached Statement. The Summary as revised in the light of those suggestions will be found in column II, and is now for the approval of the Chamber of Princes.

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 12.**

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:—

“That the Narendra Mandal places on record its deep sense of gratefulness and appreciation of the work performed by His Highness the Chancellor, the Nawab Saheb of Bhopal, during his one year's term of office, during which period His Highness has devoted considerable labour and attention to the interests of the Princes on questions of supreme importance such as Federation, Paramountcy and Ceremonials, with very beneficial and fruitful results.”





ACQUISITION OF NON-RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY IN BRITISH INDIA BY RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS.

I

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE ACQUISITION OF NON-RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY IN BRITISH INDIA BY RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS, AS REVISED IN THE LIGHT OF THE DISCUSSIONS AT THE MEETING OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE IN MARCH 1930.

1. In view of the special position of Ruling Princes and Chiefs, the acquisition by them or their heirs of non-residential property in British India should be subject to the following terms and conditions:—

In this Summary (a) "non-residential property" means any immovable property or interest in immovable property, which is not required for the residence of a Ruling Prince or Chief or for the residence of a member of his family.

(b) "The Local Government concerned" means the local Government within whose jurisdiction the property is situate.

2. (1) No Ruling Prince or Chief or the heir-apparent of such Ruling Prince or Chief should acquire non-residential property in British India either in his own name or in the name of any other person without the consent of the Government of India or the Local Government concerned. Such consent should ordinarily be obtained before the acquisition; but when this course is impracticable, the consent should be obtained within a reasonable time after the acquisition.

(2) No Ruling Prince or Chief or the heir-apparent of such Ruling Prince or Chief should transfer any such property in British India without the previous consent of the Government of India or the Local Government concerned.

3. (1) Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, a Ruling Prince or Chief may acquire non-residential property in British India,—

(a) for the purpose of providing for his younger sons or relatives other than the heir-apparent,

(b) for the purpose of religious or charitable endowment.

An acquisition under this paragraph should be communicated to the Government of India or the Local Government concerned immediately after the completion of the transaction.

(2) If after the acquisition, the son or relative mentioned in clause (a) of sub-paragraph (1) above becomes the heir-apparent or succeeds to the *gadi* of a State, he should obtain the consent of the Government of India to his retention of the property, or dispose of it.

II

*Summary of the principles governing the acquisition of non-residential property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs, as revised in the light of the discussions at the meeting of the Standing Committee in March 1932.*

1. In view of the special position of Ruling Princes and Chiefs, the acquisition by them or their heirs-apparent of non-residential property in British India should be subject to the following terms and conditions:—

In this Summary (a) "non-residential property" means any immovable property or interest in immovable property, which is not required for the residence of a Ruling Prince or Chief or his heir-apparent.

(b) "The Local Government concerned" means the local Government within whose jurisdiction the property is situate.

2. (1) A Ruling Prince or Chief or the heir-apparent of such Ruling Prince or Chief may acquire non-residential property in British India either in his own name or in the name of any other person only with the consent of the Government of India or the Local Government concerned. Such consent should ordinarily be obtained before the acquisition; but when this course is impracticable, the consent should be obtained within a reasonable time after the acquisition.

(2) A Ruling Prince or Chief or the heir-apparent of such Ruling Prince or Chief desiring to transfer by way of mortgage any such property in British India should obtain the previous consent of the Government of India or the Local Government concerned.

3. (1) Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, a Ruling Prince or Chief may acquire non-residential property in British India,—

(a) for the purpose of providing for his younger sons or relatives other than the heir-apparent,

(b) for religious or charitable purposes.

An acquisition under this paragraph should be communicated to the Government of India or the Local Government concerned immediately after the completion of the transaction.

(2) If after the acquisition, the son or relative mentioned in clause (a) of sub-paragraph (1) above becomes the heir-apparent or succeeds to the *gadi* of a State, he should obtain the consent of the Government of India to his retention of the property.

ACQUISITION OF NON-RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY IN BRITISH INDIA BY RULING  
PRINCES AND CHIEFS—*contd.*

*I—contd.*

4. Where a relative of a Ruling Prince or Chief who has acquired or otherwise become owner of non-residential property in British India, subsequently becomes the heir-apparent or succeeds to the *gadi* of a State, he should, within a reasonable time, obtain the consent of the Government of India to his retention of the property or dispose of it.

5. (1) When a Ruling Prince or Chief acquires any non-residential property in British India in the name of another person, he should within a reasonable time cause such other person to execute a proper document declaring the real ownership or transferring the property to the real owner.

(2) When the acquisition is for the purpose mentioned in paragraph 3 (1) (a) such document should be in favour of the real owner and when it is for the purpose mentioned in paragraph 3 (1) (b) such document should be in favour of the trustees of the endowment.

6. Ruling Princes or Chiefs or the heirs-apparent of such Ruling Princes or Chiefs shall, save in unusual circumstances which will be considered on their merits, be entitled to retain any non-residential property which they may obtain by bequest or succession, but in each case the Government of India should be informed. This does not apply to property originally acquired under paragraphs 3 and 4 which will be governed by the provisions of those paragraphs.

7. (1) Non-residential property acquired by Ruling Princes or Chiefs and their relatives will, in all respects, be subject to the laws and rules in force in the province concerned.

(2) An agent, duly authorised and resident in or near the locality, should invariably be appointed to represent a Ruling Prince or Chief or the heir-apparent of such Ruling Prince or Chief in respect of his non-residential property in British India. Such agent will be subject to British jurisdiction as regards the property; and it is understood that Ruling Princes and Chiefs will see that decrees and orders are given effect to. Relatives will be personally subject to British jurisdiction, and decrees or orders will be binding on them.

8. In case of breach of any of the aforesaid terms and conditions or in case of refusal of consent by the Government of India or the Local Government concerned, the Ruling Prince or Chief shall be bound to dispose of the property in question whenever called upon to do so by the Government of India or the Local Government concerned, as the case may be.

9. The Local Governments having power to give consent to the acquisition or transfer of non-residential property by Ruling Princes or Chiefs, or the heirs-apparent of such Ruling Princes or Chiefs, under this Summary are the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam.

*II—contd.*

4. (1) When a Ruling Prince or Chief acquires any non-residential property in British India in the name of another person, he should within a reasonable time cause such other person to execute a proper document declaring the real ownership or transferring the property to the real owner.

(2) When the acquisition is for the purpose mentioned in paragraph 3 (1) (a) the document by which such acquisition is made should be in favour of the beneficiary and when it is for any of the purposes mentioned in paragraph 3 (1) (b) such document should disclose such purposes.

5. Ruling Princes or Chiefs or the heirs-apparent of such Ruling Princes or Chiefs shall ordinarily be entitled to retain any non-residential property which they may obtain by bequest or succession, but in each case the Government of India should be informed. This does not apply to property originally acquired under paragraph 3 which will be governed by the provisions of that paragraph.

6. (1) Non-residential property acquired by Ruling Princes or Chiefs and their relatives will, in all respects, be subject to the laws and rules in force in the province concerned.

(2) An agent, duly authorised and resident in or near the locality, should invariably be appointed to represent a Ruling Prince or Chief or the heir-apparent of such Ruling Prince or Chief in respect of his non-residential property in British India. Such agent will be subject to British jurisdiction as regards the property, and it is understood that Ruling Princes and Chiefs will see that decrees and orders are given effect to.

7. It is understood that in the event of non-observance of any of the aforesaid terms or conditions or in case of refusal of the necessary consent, the Ruling Prince or Chief will, if desired to do so by the Government of India or the Local Government, as the case may be, dispose of the property in question within a reasonable time.

8. The Local Governments having power to give consent to the acquisition or transfer of non-residential property by Ruling Princes or Chiefs, or the heirs-apparent of such Ruling Princes or Chiefs, under this Summary are the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam.





## PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST DAY.

*The 28th March 1932.*

The Chamber of Princes assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House, at 11 A.M. on Monday, the 28th March, 1932. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present:—

### Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni.	His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.	His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.
His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.	His Highness the Raja of Sailana.
The Raja of Khilchipur.	The Raja of Sarila.
His Highness the Raja of Narsingharh.	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

### Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.	His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.	His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.	His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.
His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur.	His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.
	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

### Madras States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

### Punjab States.

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.	His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.
The Nawab of Loharu.	His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

### Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar.
His Highness the Maharaja Raj Saheb of Dhrangadhra.	The Thakor Sahib of Palitana
The Chief of Jasdan.	His Highness the Raj Sahel of Wankaner.

### Bombay.

The Raja of Bansda.	The Chief of Phaltan.
His Highness the Nawab of Cambay.	His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla.
The Chief of Jamkhandi.	The Nawab of Sachin.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.	His Highness the Chief of Sangli.
The Raja of Lunawada.	His Highness the Sar Desai of Savantwadi.

### Bengal.

His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura.

### Bihar and Orissa.

The Raja of Dhenkanal.	The Raja of Talcher.
The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.	

### Central Provinces.

The Raja of Koreea.	The Ruling Chief of Surguja.
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### Punjab.

The Raja of Baghat.	The Raja of Kalsia.
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### United Provinces.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.	His Highness the Raja of Tehri-Garhwal.
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On arrival, His Excellency the Viceroy greeted the Ruling Princes and Chiefs present.

**Agendum No. 1.**

*Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to His Excellency Lord Willingdon as Viceroy of India.*

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Highnesses; It is my privilege as the elected spokesman of this august House to extend a most hearty welcome to His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy, our President. Having regard to the intimate relations which subsist between the representative of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and the Princes of India, it is in the fitness of things that the Viceroy should be constituted the President of the Chamber of Princes. He is thus enabled to become conversant with our collective views, to appreciate our difficulties and whenever he feels it necessary, to participate in our discussions.

Your Highnesses, we are truly fortunate in having at this momentous period of our history, as Viceroy of India and the President of the Chamber, a statesman of Imperial renown and world-wide experience who is also thoroughly familiar with our problems. His Excellency's knowledge of the Indian States and their Rulers is unrivalled. No one who previously held the exalted office of Viceroy of India possessed this knowledge in anything like the same degree. As Governor of Bombay and of Madras, he was intimately associated with the States which had or still have official relations with those Presidencies. But more than this, his personal contacts extended over a much wider range than his official relations. There is hardly an important Ruler in India whom His Excellency did not know before he assumed his high office. Many amongst Your Highnesses have for long enjoyed his friendship, and all of us have known him as a sympathetic, wise and earnest friend of India and of the States.

It is not necessary for me to refer here to the wider aspects of His Excellency's service to India. But this much I may be permitted to say. The very fact that, after a life-time of devoted service to the Crown and the Empire, much of which was spent in India, His Excellency should have accepted what is the most responsible, and perhaps the most onerous office today in the British Empire, is conclusive proof, if proof were wanted, of the regard and affection he has for the Princes and people of India and of his desire to do all that lies in his power for this country. We all know from personal experience that he means to give of his best to the States and to India as a whole.

Your Excellency, I have the honour to welcome you on behalf of this Chamber of Princes as our President and hope that your term of office will be one which will secure for the Ruling Princes of India their just rights and establish their relationship with the Crown on even a firmer basis than ever.

Before I move the official Resolution welcoming the Viceroy—our President—I would like to say what is in the minds of us all, namely, that our welcome to Lord Willingdon of course includes the gracious Lady, his consort, who, though not formally present among us, is gracing the

Occasion and is thus able to listen to our words of warm and cordial welcome. We are all sensible of her friendly interest in us, and we are all very grateful for it. The women of India, we are sure, rejoice to have her back in the country. During all the years she has spent out here, she has worked incessantly for their good. You see her hand in all the activities directed to the amelioration of the conditions of life in India. We all wish that her noble efforts in the cause of India may be crowned with success.

I now move the Resolution for the acceptance of this House.

“The Chamber of Princes offers a hearty welcome to His Excellency Lord Willingdon on his assumption of the office of Viceroy and Governor General of India, and tenders its sincerest good wishes to His Excellency”.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It gives me great pleasure to second the Resolution so well moved by my brother His Highness of Bhopal. The welcome, which we are offering today, is not a conventional welcome but one to a tried friend who loves and is loved by the best of India. Your Excellency, and if I may venture to refer also to Your Excellency’s noble consort, are no stranger to India. Your Excellency gave us the best years of your life, and you laid therein the foundations of the new understanding between England and India, embodied in the conception of the Willingdon Sports Club. Moreover, the unparalleled expression of popular approval which greeted the announcement of Your Excellency’s appointment was a clear index that, at this most crucial period of our history, India needed and welcomed Your Excellency as the representative of the Crown.

Your Excellency, with due deference, you have already justified our expectations. The wise and firm, though sympathetic handling of affairs, characteristic of Your Excellency’s policy, has already had its salutary effect in this country. Everyone is beginning to feel where he stands, and the public opinion is fast recognising that through channels of constitutional and ordered activity, the political future of this country is assured, in the shortest possible time, under Your Excellency’s sympathetic lead.

Your Excellency, your wise and farsighted handling of the Princes’ relations with the Crown calls for no comment. You have proved for the Princes of India a friend in need and therefore a friend indeed, and you have, by subordinating red-tapeism to the true British instincts of justice and fairplay, brought the Princes of India nearer to the British Crown and evoked in them a sense of confidence and security, that they will receive justice, which is at this juncture the most valuable asset in the relations of England and India. Moreover, Your Excellency has displayed that, through friendly persuasion and advice, and by convincing them of the intrinsic fairness of any proposal, you can secure far more and cheerfully from the Princes than has been or can be possible otherwise. And I feel I can confidently assure Your Excellency that the Princes of India will strengthen your hands and will stand by a friend who deserves and commands their respect.

Your Excellency, India stands today at the parting of the ways, and the events have already proved, which many of us who have had the privilege of Your Excellency’s friendship already know, that England could not have done better and fairer to India than to send an international Statesman of Your Excellency’s courageous and constructive imagination to guide India’s destiny at this juncture. We know that the problems before us

are indeed grave, but we have full faith that with your established sense of fair play and sympathy and constructive statesmanship, you can deliver the goods and will deliver the goods worthy of the best traditions of India and England.

To me, however, the great achievements already made by Your Excellency are no surprise, and the sincere whispers, which I often hear amongst my brother Princes and my British Indian friends, that Your Excellency is great, are not unexpected. I know that Your Excellency is a first-rate sportsman, and we all know what a sportsman will do and what he cannot do. Beyond this I need not say, because the depth and sincerity of my personal affection and gratitude for Your Excellency, and the great confidence and friendship which I have always received from the Willingdons defies description.

But in offering Your Excellency our sincerest welcome and best wishes, I am sure that this House would unanimously like to convey that welcome and those best wishes equally cordially to Her Excellency Lady Willingdon. India has hailed her as a true friend, and her great personality always commands the affection and respect of the best in India. She has given a new life to movements for women and child welfare and for the revival of Art and friendly understanding between England and India, which is perceptible in everything connected with her and the Viceroy's House. She is richly entitled to the gratitude of India for this all, but equally so, for her efforts, though unfortunately often unsuccessful, to see that Your Excellency does not overwork yourself and at times allows yourself the freer atmosphere of a flying plane high above the wrangles of men on earth.

With these words, Your Excellency, I give you a cricketer's best wishes who knows that as a first rate cricketer Your Excellency will play the game and play it well.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I desire, in just a few words, respectfully to associate myself with this Resolution.

Many of us have longed for many long years to see Your Excellency back in our midst as Viceroy; and today I believe that—not only in our life-time, but at any rate for a considerable time past—we have the pleasure of welcoming to India a Viceroy who—by virtue of the other high offices under the Crown which he has held in India in the past for a period of no less than eleven years or so—knew India well, and had already given ample evidence of his sympathy for the Princes and people of this Country, and won great respect and personal popularity—indeed affection—and one with whom many of us have had the honour of forming lasting friendships.

May I here be permitted also to refer to the gracious and incomparable personality of Her Excellency the Countess of Willingdon, who too has equally won universal popularity and esteem and all our hearts, and also to the world-wide fame which Your Excellencies' renowned hospitality has gained?

Human nature being what it is, great hopes are always entertained of a Viceroy, as in the case of other high personages, with whom people are to be brought in close official relationship. Some of these hopes have at times been realised; some otherwise. But, starting as we have done with the Viceroyalty of Your Excellency, who comes as no stranger

to the problems of India, and with what we already personally know of you, I trust that I shall be absolved from any intention of paying any idle compliments, or being guilty of flattery, if I venture to say that our hopes and expectations will not go in vain in Your Excellency's case. If I am not trespassing on the privilege of His Highness the Chancellor who, during this Session, is to move a separate Resolution may I add that we save nothing but the most happy memories and the most grateful recollections of our associations with Your Excellency in the past year, and how particularly grateful are all the Princes and States for the great frankness and the very real personal contact you have established, and—as I said only a few days ago in Bikaner—for the great trouble and pains which Your Excellency has been pleased to take in so thoroughly and patiently thrashing out in our meetings for many hours of many days certain questions of the utmost importance to us and our States and subjects, and first and foremost in regard to Paramountcy, as well as for the great sympathy and sense of justice and fairplay which you have displayed.

Need I say that Your Excellencies will have with you both now and for all time in the future, our best wishes—as you have always had them in the past? May Providence bless you with health and real success during your Viceroyalty at this most important of all junctures, and may you be the means of strengthening the bonds that bind the Princes and people of India to Great Britain and the Empire, and, above all, to the Person and Throne of our beloved King-Emperor.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It is with particular pleasure that I rise speaking on behalf of the Western India States to associate myself with the resolution of welcome to Your Excellency which has been moved and seconded in such cordial terms: for it has been my honour and privilege to count Your Excellency and Her Excellency Lady Willingdon, among my personal friends, for these many years. I do not feel that this is the time, nor perhaps the occasion to recall the foundations of that which is among the most cherished of my friendships; for it is my privilege today to welcome Your Excellency in your official position as President of our Chamber, as the most distinguished living servant of the King-Emperor, as the honoured incumbent of the most responsible official position, which even our own great Empire can boast. Hence it is that I resist the temptation to address Your Excellency as the fine sportsman, the warm friend, the wise counsellor, whom many of us are privileged to respect and to love in your private life; and I will confine these brief remarks to the more formal, if no less notable, aspects of Your Excellency's public functions. All who know Your Excellency would grant that in practice the two aspects cannot be divorced; and that it is just because you have shown the world what an English nobleman can be, that the world has afforded Your Excellency those opportunities for Imperial service of which you have so brilliantly availed yourself.

Seldom, I think, since the representatives of the British Crown have been called to rule over this great country, has there been a Viceroy who has brought to his task the ripe and varied experience which distinguishes Your Excellency. Among your predecessors, there have been men who have won their spurs in many fields. There have been men who have risen from the ranks of the Public service: there have been men who

have governed an Indian Province: there have been men who have occupied the foremost positions in the self-governing Dominions of the Crown. But so far as I am aware, Your Excellency is the only Viceroy who, after governing two great Presidencies and after representing the King-Emperor in the most ancient of the great Dominions, has been called to accept that office which, as we are glad to think, is at once the proudest, the most honourable, and may I add, the most responsible, in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It has been said and I have seen it in print, that a Viceroy usually spends his first two years in mastering his work: his second two years in redressing errors of administration and policy: and his last year in constructive endeavours. Your Excellency's eleven years' experiences in Bombay and Madras have saved you from the necessity of undergoing the first or what I may term for want of a better word probationary period: your brilliant record of success, both in India and in Canada, provides an assurance that in your case the second, or rectificatory period will be also eliminated and we already know, from the record of these last two months that Your Excellency has commenced straightaway to embark upon that period of constructive endeavour which your predecessors less richly endowed in previous experience of this country could only attain in the last few months of their Viceroyalty.

Your Excellency, in the work which you are doing, you command our highest admiration, just as you can at all times reckon upon our warmest co-operation. I know I am speaking for my Brother Princes as well as myself when I say, that we all feel that in you, India as well as the Empire has got the right man in the right place. The mere fact that you are at the helm, inspires us with confidence: for we know that the ship of state can never, even in these difficult times, make demands upon your skill, your experience, your wisdom, which cannot without difficulty be met. In conveying to Her Excellency Lady Willingdon and yourself, our warm and cordial welcome, we can wish you no better fortune, we can give you no greater mark of our esteem, than to express our complete confidence that your work as Viceroy will, in the judgment of history, appear merely as the inevitable sequence, as it will be the brilliant culmination, of your work as Governor of two of the greatest Presidencies.

Your Excellency, the Princes of India stand behind you, not merely because you represent the King-Emperor, but because you are a man they trust and love. Upon such help and co-operation as it may be in our power to afford, you can always rely: and you carry along with you our warmest good-wishes, our most affectionate esteem.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I am reminded to-day of an occasion, eleven years ago, when I was asked by the Prime Minister of England, in a friendly conversation, what I thought were the primary qualifications needed in a Viceroy. I told him that he had asked me a conundrum that would require a lengthy explanation. He said, however, that he wanted me to answer him in a few words. I told him that in my estimation two qualifications are needed in a Viceroy, namely, courage and imagination. Now, I want to analyse both these points. Governing consists of ruling and administering with both hands—firmness and strength meaning courage on the one hand and sympathy and good will, with plenty of imagination, on the other.

It is curious that that question should have been asked of me at the time when I believe many congratulations reached His Excellency in Canada on his appointment as Viceroy, and I happen to know how that opportunity was just missed by a neck to neck race. We might say, some people do say, that if His Excellency had been out here 11 years ago, with the policy that he is pursuing and which we see vividly before us, perhaps none of these troubles, none of these difficulties would have occurred. Whatever might have been the position, nevertheless we should have been deprived on that occasion of one opportunity, namely, of His Excellency presiding, as he does now, at the helm of affairs to work out the most important constitution for India which will send it ahead towards its goal. I feel certain that that goal could not have been achieved at that time, at so early a stage, but now His Excellency has applied himself forthwith on this important task, and I personally for one feel certain that all the big questions that are on the anvil will pass through the mill before very long, and that His Excellency will be the first constitutional Viceroy of British India as he already is and will remain the best friend of the Indian States.

Another qualification, some regard for such a distinguished post, is one of popularity, but on that point I do not lay too much stress, for popularity, it seems to me, can sometimes be gained by accepting all other peoples' opinions and not following your own and doing everything that others wish and not necessarily what you may think the right thing yourself to do. That is certainly not the popularity that His Excellency has earned in the 10 years of tenure in the distinguished offices which he held in Bombay and Madras. On the other hand, one can say that the popularity which His Excellency has earned in both Indias, British and Indian States, was certainly due to his charm and strength combined and his never failing courtesy, besides, as we have known from some of our meetings, his never failing temper in discussions.

His Excellency possesses two great virtues also, which I think many of us may well learn. One is that of perennial and eternal youth: the other is the cheerfulness with which His Excellency tackles all the most difficult questions that come before him. I think, with these two qualifications, we may be sure that all difficulties which come on the horizon will fade away, and the silver lining will bring India to her goal, of which no one will be more proud than His Excellency the Viceroy, the President of our Chamber.

I now wish to turn to Her Excellency Lady Willingdon and just say this much—that I know what a great assistance Her Excellency is in the important task and the difficult work that lies before His Excellency. That extraordinary dynamic force is an inspiration, and something that one can look to in order to achieve great success. But apart from that Her Excellency possesses also that wonderful graciousness and charm which I do not like speaking of in Her Excellency's presence, but which nevertheless makes people to do many things which they want to do, and sometimes even things that they do not want to do. I won't speak on this occasion of my personal friendship with Their Excellencies. I will leave that to a future occasion when I shall have the privilege of welcoming Their Excellencies to my home. But on this occasion I wish to wind up my speech with the remark that I do not believe there are any in this house, who are sincere well-wishers of our country, who do not wish both Your Excellencies every success in your endeavours in order.

first, to establish peaceful administration in the country, and, secondly, to prepare the ground for inaugurating the reforms for which undoubtedly Your Excellency's Viceroyalty will go down unrivalled and absolutely uncompered with any other before.

**His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I am delighted to associate myself with this resolution. His Excellency the present Viceroy, if I may be permitted to say so, is entitled to our sincerest welcome and best wishes. This is so, not merely as a courteous expression due from this House to the Representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor. But, in this case, it is also a spontaneous index of our sincere sentiments for a great British Noble-man, who has proved himself a tried and trusted friend of India and of the Indian Princes. This friendship, in His Excellency's case, is not a mere hollow gesture of political expediency. The best of India knows him intimately, and proudly owns him as a friend; and His Excellency commands our respectful friendship by deeds and achievements which live and cannot be forgotten.

Your Excellency, let me say with due deference, that even during these few months of your Viceroyalty, you have made a rich and valued contribution to the History of India. You have set yourself assiduously, with your tried sympathy to an early and satisfactory solution of India's constitutional problem. You have, inspite of its unpleasanstness at times, applied yourself courageously to the maintenance of Law and Order which must be the supreme function of every conscientious Ruler and Administrator. Your Excellency has introduced a new phase in the Princes' relations with the Crown, by inspiring a feeling that with Your Excellency at the helm of affairs, they can always look forward to sympathetic fairplay, and have only to come to Your Excellency with cards frankly and fully laid on the table, and justice shall be ensured. I feel confident that by progressive and beneficent administrations within our States, we shall strengthen Your Excellency's hands further and justify and deserve this policy and your friendship.

Your Excellency, these are great achievements for which you deserve well of India and the Empire. But even apart from these political and administrative avenues, India and England will, I submit, have reasons to be grateful to the Willingdons, for the great cultural and social understanding between the East and the West, which is steadily but surely coming under the inspiration of Her Excellency Lady Willingdon. Her Excellency, as we all know, if I may say so with due respect, loves the best that is in India, and with her great and commanding personality is already bringing the best in India nearer to the best in England and the West. And, when through Your Excellency's constructive guiding of affairs, India soon finds an honoured place as a member of the British Commonwealth, developing the happiness and prosperity of its people through the surest and best avenues of ordered progress, I feel confident that the cultural understanding and social friendships now being forged under Her Excellency's inspiration, will prove a stronger tie than any political or constitutional formulæ.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It gives me very great pleasure to support the resolution so ably moved by His Highness the Chancellor and seconded by Their Highnesses of Bikaner, Patiala, Alwar and Nawanagar.

It is needless for me to add anything to all that has been said so fully by Their Highnesses, about the great qualities of His Excellency, but I cannot refrain on this occasion from touching a personal note.

I have had the honour of knowing His Excellency ever since he took up the reins of office of the Governor of Bombay Presidency and which he held with such great ability and success and I have the feelings of deepest gratitude for the kind and valuable guidance and help he gave me in the beginning of my career.

Their Excellencies have proved themselves to be very great friends of our Order, and the Ruling Princes of Bombay, who have always been in very close touch with them feel a great pride and genuine satisfaction in associating themselves in this most hearty welcome to Their Excellencies.

Both the country and our Order are to be most sincerely congratulated at their having at the helm of affairs, at this, the most critical juncture in the history of India, a statesman of such wisdom, wide sympathies and great ability as His Excellency.

**His Highness the Chief Saheb of Sangli:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I esteem it at once a pleasure and a privilege to support the resolution of welcome to Your Excellency on which His Highness the Chancellor and others of Their Highnesses who preceded me have spoken with their usual eloquence and ability. Hailing from Bombay, I feel particularly glad to join my voice with Their Highnesses in welcoming Your Excellency, when you preside for the first time over the session of the Chamber of Princes. It is no ordinary pleasure that we from Bombay have felt in welcoming back to India, one who held the high office of Governor of the Presidency, and in that capacity so completely won our hearts. It is a matter of gratification and pride to us to find that Your Excellency, who vouchsafed your friendly interest to us, should have been called upon to fill the highest post in the gift of the Crown. We in Bombay will always cherish the memories of your contact with us. We have known, felt and experienced the warmth of Your Excellency's personality through the hard crust of officialdom that surrounds a high dignitary. These associations have become part of us and grown with us now for over nineteen years, and we, therefore, take a pride in welcoming you as an old and tried friend in your present exalted office.

Your Excellency brings to your task vast experience garnered in important places in different parts of the Empire. During the eleven years which Your Excellency spent in India, Your Excellency not only acquired personal acquaintance with the problems that are agitating the minds of the people, but also endeared yourself to vast multitudes of people by your unfailing tact and sympathy. The period was further marked by great zeal on Your Excellency's part for modernising and humanising the administration. It was thus in the fitness of things that the selection of Your Excellency as Viceroy should have been hailed throughout India with a degree of joy and satisfaction not reached in the past, as a true friend of the country.

The situation in India is the most exacting and difficult that has ever been seen in this land. But instead of deterring you from this immense extension of responsibility, it has on the other hand evidently induced you to undertake this burden, and that at a time when others would consider they have earned retirement. The assumption by Your Excellency of a task of exceptional difficulty and gravity after a long life of strenuous

work is an eloquent testimony not only to your public spirit and patriotism, but may I say, also to your unsurpassed love of India, and will always be a standing inspiration to all true lovers of India to come forward to do their bit in the realisation of the great ideal which actuates Your Excellency. Aply has the Prime Minister said that the appointment of Your Excellency as Viceroy is an earnest of Britain's intention to face the Indian problem.

The present is the most momentous stage in the political advance of this country, which has been rendered difficult, delicate and complicated by the clash of interests and the din of controversy. Lord Irwin strove hard with patience and devotion for five laborious and most disturbing years to bring about a lasting basis of understanding and good-will between England and India. But the difficulty and gravity of the task at the present moment, it is common knowledge, have, instead of diminishing, increased several times. Your Excellency has been grappling with the situation in a manner which must evoke admiration and gratitude. We know how anxious Your Excellency is to dispel mistrust and suspicion, to get them replaced by trust and confidence and to restore peace and contentment. We also know that Your Excellency is doing your utmost to expedite the work going on in this country in pursuance of the decisions taken by the Round Table Conference in England. It is difficult to conceive anything more arduous, more trying or more stupendous than the task that has fallen to Your Excellency's lot, in repressing lawlessness and at the same time pushing forward the building of the constitution. I feel sure that when the dust and heat of the controversy have disappeared, the memorable services which Your Excellency is rendering to India and the Empire at the present moment will live in the immortal pages of history.

Your Excellency is already aware of the loyalty and devotion of the Indian Princes to the Crown and their appreciation of the high destiny they owe to their connection with the British Empire. Your Excellency knows it well that they are as anxious as ever to do all that they can to help the restoration of co-operation and confidence between India and the Empire in the present situation and to take their legitimate share in any measure of constitutional advance which may be considered best for the ultimate good of India. I need hardly assure Your Excellency that the smaller States, though their individual resources may be small in comparison with those of the provinces of British India and the larger States, have as proud traditions of loyalty and devotion as any other and will yield to none in their determination to serve the cause of India and the Empire. We feel confident that British genius will find means to overcome the present difficulties and obstacles, and that under Your Excellency's wise guidance a solution will be found which will have due regard to the welfare of the Princes not excluding Rulers of the smaller States.

I wish to extend my welcome to the gracious Lady who is such a solace and support to Your Excellency in these days of stress and strain. We know that Her Excellency the Countess of Willingdon is of the greatest assistance to Your Excellency in overcoming difficulties and alleviating the anxieties of your high office. In Her Excellency, a bounteous nature has carried sweetness, tact and sympathy to perfection which is rarely seen in other persons. Her Excellency has already devoted herself to the mitigation of human suffering and improvement of social life in India, and I feel sure that India will be able to make large strides in the sphere of humanitarian work under her direction and guidance.

Let me assure Your Excellency that with vivid recollections of your great kindness, sympathy and friendship, in the past and at present, we are full of faith, hope and optimism that your efforts for raising India to her legitimate position will be crowned with success and that your kindness reinforces our determination to serve His Majesty in such humble way as we are capable of. In conclusion I pray that Providence may bless Her Excellency the Countess of Willingdon and Your Excellency with all health and strength to enable you to support the heavy responsibilities of your exalted position.

**The Chief of Jamkhandi:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It is with great pleasure that I take this opportunity of tendering my most hearty welcome to His Excellency Lord Willingdon as Viceroy of India, by supporting this Resolution moved by His Highness the Chancellor. The reasons for welcoming His Excellency on this occasion are too obvious to require any explanation. His Highness the Chancellor has no doubt given expression by this Resolution to what our whole Order feels about His Excellency and in supporting him I am doing nothing but my humble duty. The Bombay Princes, however, have got a special claim to join hands with His Highness the Chancellor in this respect as His Excellency was at one time the Governor of our Province. As one of the Rulers of the Bombay States, therefore, I think it a special privilege to accord my whole-hearted support to this Resolution. Besides, it is a matter of personal pride to me to state that His Excellency was the first Governor to visit my State and his relations with my State and my late father were very cordial and personal.

His Excellency's experience regarding matters of India in general and of States in particular is very vast and it would not be too much here to say that we are sure that His Excellency's appointment as Viceroy at such a critical time would prove immensely useful in removing the difficulties which our Order in general and some of us in particular have to face.

With these few words, I tender my whole-hearted support to this Resolution.

**The Chief of Phaltan:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I rise to support a resolution which really needs no support. I am sure it has the unanimous hearty support of the whole House. My only justification for adding a few words is that we from the Bombay Presidency have a sort of special claim upon Your Excellency. The foundations of Your Excellency's illustrious career were laid in our province. The exceptional nobility and ability which led to Your Excellency's present exalted position became known to all, when Your Excellency was Governor of Bombay. It was then that the Great War broke out; but India was fortunate in having at that time two statesmen of rare tact and sympathy at the helm of affairs—I mean Your Excellency and Lord Hardinge. They almost commanded the loyalty of Princes and people alike, right from their heart, which saved that difficult situation.

The present times are also such as need no less courage and sympathy. The Princes are at the threshold of such constitutional changes as they have never witnessed since their treaties with the British Crown. We therefore feel obliged to His Majesty's Government that they have sent

cut for our guidance a statesman who is so fully conversant with our problems as no body else could have been and who has spent almost his life-time in knowing our difficulties and solving them sympathetically. We Bombay States being a long way removed from Delhi have, if I may say so, the disadvantages of distance against us. But Your Excellency has an intimate knowledge of our peculiar position and problems and we feel ourselves brought near to Delhi as we have never before. We therefore feel confident and encouraged about the future of our Order.

I therefore heartily welcome Your Excellency and join in supporting this resolution.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I am sure Your Highnesses will sympathise with me in my feeling of some embarrassment that the very first Resolution that I have to put before you is of such an extraordinarily personal nature. But this is my constitutional duty and I will therefore ask Your Highnesses if it is your pleasure that this Resolution be passed.

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** Before I turn to my address this morning I should like to express to Your Highnesses my most grateful thanks for that expression, if I may say so, of confidence in the Viceroy which you have displayed by this unanimous voting, and if I felt embarrassment in putting this Resolution to you a few moments ago I can assure you I feel the most overwhelming embarrassment in responding at all to the extraordinarily charming and graceful language which the mover, seconder and supporters of this Resolution have used in expressing their welcome to my wife and myself on undertaking these great duties which we are trying to perform. With regard to myself I can quite sincerely say that Your Highnesses' expressions have been of far too generous and far too flattering a character. My successes, if I have had any successes, in my public life have been very largely due to the fact that I have round me, and have always had round me, good friends, good supporters, the best possible of advisers. And in this connection perhaps I may be allowed to say that from long experience I endorse every word that Your Highnesses have said with regard to Her Excellency, my wife, and I am delighted to feel that Your Highnesses, like myself, have got such a very clear realisation of her many admirable and diverse qualities. I would only add one word on this matter and it is this, that such words as you have expressed in your speeches to me this morning are a great help, an enormous encouragement in assisting me in carrying on the difficult and diverse duties which fall to the Viceroy of India at the present time.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** Your Highnesses: It is wholly unnecessary for me to express the great pleasure that I feel in presiding for the first time in my position as Viceroy at this the eleventh meeting of the Chamber of Princes, a pleasure which is much enhanced by the fact that I am meeting and greeting today a number of Your Highnesses whom I can claim as my close and valued friends, and by the further fact that during many years of public service in India I have always been able to take a keen and active interest in all matters connected with your Order. I have already during the past eleven months experienced the manifold advantages obtained from informal discussions with many of Your Highnesses and I welcome this new opportunity of being associated with your more formal deliberations on the many vital and important matters now engaging your attention.

Since its last sessions in March 1931 your Chamber has lost by death three of its members. Only on Saturday last I heard that His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin had passed away. He succeeded to the *gaddi* in 1914 on the abdication of His Highness Raja Sir Rama Varma, whose death we also have to deplore, and he attended Your Highnesses' early Conferences in 1916 and 1919. Since then failing health had been his portion and he has taken no part in the formal meetings of the Chamber. His Highness the Maharaja of Idar in the Bombay Presidency was my old and valued friend and the news of his sudden death almost at the moment when he had come to welcome me at Bombay was a great shock to me on my arrival. As Governor of Bombay I recollect spending my first Christmas in India under his hospitable roof. A man of conservative ideas, he stood somewhat apart from the stream of modern progress and I am told that he had never attended the sessions of your Chamber. A Rathor Rajput—he inherited the martial traditions of his race and served the Empire in Egypt during the Great War.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, who died within the last few months, had, I am informed, twice attended the sessions of your Chamber. He was a Ruler of the best type, just, high-minded and caring above all things for the progress and prosperity of his people. Since the Benares State was formed in 1911 I think it is true to say that he proved himself to be a distinguished and worthy member of Your Highnesses' Order. Both Your Highnesses and the Chamber are poorer by his loss.

I must also refer to the death of His Highness the *ex-Raja* of Bilaspur. Afflicted by ill-health he had for some years before his death abdicated his high office in favour of his son and had resided in retirement at Benares. Nor can I omit a reference to Their late Highnesses, the Senior Maharani Regent of Gwalior, and the Maharani Regent of Dhar, who have both died within the year while carrying out devotedly and successfully the task of administration in the interests of the minor Maharajas. Both ladies were distinguished by their high sense of duty and justice and have nobly vindicated the high tradition of Indian womanhood in positions of authority and responsibility. I am sure Your Highnesses will join with me in expressing sympathy with all the bereaved families and in welcoming to your Chamber those of their successors who have assumed the duties and responsibilities of the high positions to which they have been called.

At the meeting of the League of Nations Assembly held in 1931 for the first time a State Minister and not a Ruling Prince represented the Indian States. With kind permission of His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Khan Bahadur Dewan Abdul Hamid was enabled to undertake this duty and I am informed that he carried out his onerous and responsible labours with great success and distinction. He has shown at Geneva that not only the Ruling Princes of India but their Ministers also can hold their own with the counsellors of other nations. I feel sure that Your Highnesses would wish to express your appreciation of the manner in which Khan Bahadur Dewan Abdul Hamid had discharged his responsibilities on your behalf.

I notice in your Agenda that there is a proposal before Your Highnesses to alter certain of the Articles in the Constitution. I am given to understand that the system of having Substitute Members for the Standing Committee was only initiated a year ago, and there has therefore not been any long period in which to test the merits or disadvantages of the system. On general principles I should have been inclined to suggest to Your

Highnesses to give the present conditions a little more time to be tested before making the changes that are proposed. I fully appreciate that your object is, of course, to secure a quorum of the Standing Committee at all times and this can doubtless be obtained by increasing the number of your members; and it is perhaps less invidious to be a full member of the Standing Committee than to occupy the position which has hitherto been designated "Substitute Member". On the other hand, it is a general experience that Committees can be too large, and though I am not prepared to say that nine is an excessive number, still the despatch of business tends to be more expeditious where the numbers are fewer. With these general remarks I am quite content to leave any decision on this matter to Your Highnesses who no doubt appreciate better than I can your feelings on this question.

Only one meeting of the Standing Committee of your Chamber has taken place since its last session. I need hardly say that this does not imply on the part of its members any neglect of your interests or failure in their responsibilities. And here I should like to make one observation of a personal character, and assure you that if there has been any delay or neglect in advancing the consideration of the many detailed points that Your Highnesses have, as I well know, so much in your minds, the fault has not in any way been due to His Highness, your Chanc'lor, for I can personally say that I know it for a fact that from the moment I landed at Bombay he has never been weary in well doing in these matters on Your Highnesses' behalf, and I can sincerely pay my tribute to his untiring zeal and energy in his endeavours to secure decisions on the various problems. The last year too has been so occupied by the special problems of the Round Table Conference that many of the topics now under discussion in the Standing Committee have necessarily required to be put aside temporarily. Many of them are directly affected by problems of Federation and cannot hope for final solution until these have reached a decision; while others are not of the same urgency and importance as those connected with Federation. Most of the members of the Committee have also been in Europe as members of the Round Table Conference itself, and it has been difficult to arrange meetings for this purpose until after their return. I understand however that at the meeting held earlier in this month useful progress has been made in certain of the weighty matters that have been for some time past under discussion with my Political Department. I am informed that one of them relating to acquisition by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of non-residential property in British India has achieved the record of a tenth Summary; it is now being placed before the Chamber and let us hope that after so many re-births it will at last earn *Nirvana* by a final settlement! I am glad to learn also that it has been possible to meet Your Highnesses' wishes in certain matters, in which the exercise of railway jurisdiction by my Government within your territories had been causing you practical inconvenience.

If however the volume of work from the Standing Committee for presentation to the Chamber is smaller than the normal, I think I can claim that we have made considerable progress in two other directions, which are of great interest to Your Highnesses.

The Committee on Ceremonial appointed by the Standing Committee to examine these special matters has expended considerable time and labour in discussion both with myself and my Political Secretary, and we

have on many points reached agreements which will, I hope, prove satisfactory to Your Highnesses when the time comes to present the final results to the Chamber. It has unfortunately been impossible to complete them in time for the present session, but I have every hope that they will be ready for your consideration at the next meeting of the Chamber.

I have also recently had the benefit of discussions with your Standing Committee on the very important question of Paramountcy and here too I think those who were present will agree that we have advanced a long way towards agreement in many of its aspects. I cannot now give you details, since it is obviously undesirable to discuss them at the present stage; but I have every confidence that before the meeting of the Chamber next year we may be able to announce a clear policy in this matter, for I know well that it is a question which has greatly exercised your minds for some time. If I were to give you in very general terms my views of the main obligations under Paramountcy of the two parties concerned, I would express it in the following manner. The Viceroy as representing the Crown has the duty of maintaining to the States the absolute security of their rights and privileges which have been assured to them under their Treaties, Sanads and Engagements, and if necessity arises to give protection to any ruler; while the rulers on their part have the duty of administering their States in a sound, satisfactory and progressive manner for the welfare and benefit of their subjects, which will strengthen their position under their Treaties and, let us hope, render entirely unnecessary the effective protection of the Crown. Let me add that I hope and believe that the result of our deliberations will be to remove many of your anxieties and to resolve most of your difficulties, and confirm in a practical manner the assurances frequently given to you in the past of the inviolability and security of your position under your Treaties, Sanads and Engagements.

In these days when efforts are widely made to subvert law and order through this country, it is my duty to give you all possible assistance in maintaining your lawful authority and this I am determined to do. I acknowledge gratefully the many messages that have reached me from members of your Order approving my decision to enforce law and maintain order at all costs in British India and offering any assistance that may be required. You, I am sure, recognise that the States cannot stand entirely apart from their neighbours in British India for disorder and lawlessness, if unchecked, must spread from the one to the other. Your Highnesses therefore are closely concerned with the stability of conditions beyond your borders, just as in the converse case, unsettled conditions in the States may have their repercussions in British Provinces. It cannot therefore be said that in conveying to me your sympathy and approval in the policy which I have been compelled reluctantly to adopt within the last few months, you are intervening in matters that do not concern you. Moreover Your Highnesses realise as well as I do that force and repression cannot be an end in themselves, and that I have only adopted them so as to produce conditions in which we may be able to proceed with the details of the great constitutional changes that are impending, and under which it may be possible to introduce and work them successfully. It is in the firm belief that we shall before long be able to inaugurate a new era in the constitutional history of this great country that I am determined at all costs to secure and maintain the peaceful conditions under which alone such progress may be made. Any other path can lead only to chaos and he would indeed take a heavy responsibility who allowed India to

slide into that abyss. I am grateful in the knowledge that I can count on the help of all Your Highnesses in my efforts to ensure the orderly progress of India to her appointed destiny.

As an earnest of your intentions I welcome the Resolutions in the second part of your Agenda relating to a federal scheme. Nearly two years have elapsed since in London your representatives took the momentous decision to join an all-India Federation and to co-operate with the representatives of British India in working out its details. An idea so attractive has appealed strongly to all interests concerned and the strength of their belief that it is the best solution of a most difficult problem is demonstrated by the energy and enthusiasm with which during the last eighteen months they have all laboured to remove the many difficulties lying in its path. It is a mistake to underestimate or be blind to these difficulties. Many interests are involved and of these some are conflicting, but there has, I am thankful to say, been throughout a realisation that they must not be permitted to block the path towards the ideal and that a solution for them must be found. Believe me, I sympathise keenly with your doubts and misgivings which are inevitable when changes of the magnitude and importance such as these have to be undertaken. You desire what is best for India as a whole, but each one of you is naturally concerned to see that the new conditions will not imperil your own existence or that of the systems of government which you believe to have still much of value to contribute to the progress of your own country. The time for consideration has doubtless appeared short when compared with the importance of the issues involved and I must congratulate Your Highnesses on being able within it to reach what I understand are agreed conclusions on most of the main points. If, as I hope, the Resolutions upon the Agenda receive the approval of your Chamber, a great step will have been made towards the settlement of the problem. There have been times when the prospect of such settlement has seemed remote and it is a source of keenest satisfaction to me that with the wise and able assistance of your Ministers you should have reached decisions not inconsistent with the early establishment of a federal system in India. I know nothing, so far, beyond the terms of the Resolutions as placed on the Agenda paper, but I shall wait with lively interest their further elucidation in the course of your discussions. I am glad that I may look forward to future meetings of this Chamber where we can take counsel together for the further progress of this great scheme. But I cannot imagine a more important or critical session than this at which it is my pleasure and privilege to preside for the first time. It is difficult to visualise the time when the Indian Princes had no common forum for discussion of questions of joint interest to them all, but events move rapidly in a modern world and what appeared to be a startling innovation of yesterday becomes the ordinary commonplace of today. The experience of Your Highnesses in this direction in your own Chamber may, I would suggest, make you ready to face the prospect of still further constitutional changes with courage and confidence. Change must always seem doubtful to minds nurtured in a conservative tradition. But political wisdom consists in realising that new conditions require new measures and remedies and that our intellects and judgments have been given us to decide which path offers the more advantages and the less danger and to choose it accordingly. In ending my introductory remarks at this my first session of your Chamber, I would express the hope that you will enter upon it inspired with courage as well as caution and with an earnest desire for

the common weal both of your own people and that of Greater India, of which you form a part.

**Agendum No. 2.**

*Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal on the deaths of Their Late Highnesses the Maharajas of Cochin, Benares and Idar, His late Highness the ex-Raja of Cochin and the ex-Raja of Bilaspur.*

**His Highness the Chancellor:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; it is the sad duty of the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes to move the Resolution recording the sorrow of the Chamber at the loss of some of its members whom Death has removed during the course of the year. His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin who passed away only two days ago was a most distinguished Member of our Order who was held in the highest esteem by all. His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, a venerable and universally respected member of our Order is, alas, no more. The Maharaja of Idar passed away in the prime of his life, and it is saddening to think that a personality so full of life should have been lost to our Order at so early an age. The deaths of the abdicated Raja of Cochin and of the Maharani Regent of Gwalior though they were not members of this Chamber are matters of great sorrow to the members of our Order. His late Highness of Cochin followed the ancient Indian tradition of retiring from the throne after his 60th year. He was not only a distinguished Ruler but a man of profound scholarship and wide human sympathies. The late Raja of Bilaspur was well known to many of us and his sad demise is a grievous loss to our Order. Her Highness the Maharani Regent of Gwalior carried on the administration of that important State for over seven years after the death of her illustrious husband and achieved much distinction in that capacity. Her death is indeed a sad loss which I know will be very widely mourned. I do not desire to prolong the painful feelings which must necessarily be aroused in the minds of Your Highnesses at the thought of those of our brethren who have departed from this life. I therefore move the following Resolution for Your Highnesses' unanimous acceptance.

"The Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the lamentable demise of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Cochin, Idar and Benares, His late Highness the ex-Raja of Cochin and the ex-Raja Saheb of Bilaspur, together with the sense of the loss thereby sustained by the entire Order of Princes, and offers its sincerest sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families."

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar:** I will not waste the time of this House by making a lengthy speech. I heartily agree with His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal in all the kind things he has said about those who have gone from among us. Therefore I have the pleasure of seconding the resolution.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** The resolution proposed and seconded by His Highness the Chancellor and His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar reads:—

"The Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the lamentable demise of Their late Highnesses the Maharajas of Cochin, Idar and Benares, His late Highness the ex-Raja of Cochin and the ex-Raja Saheb

of Bilaspur together with the sense of the loss thereby sustained by the entire Order of Princes and offers its sincerest sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families".

Is it your pleasure that the resolution be passed?

(The resolution was carried unanimously, all standing.)

### Agendum No. 3.

*Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to their Highnesses of Travancore, Cochin, Bhavnagar, Idar and Benares, the Nawab*

(The resolution was carried unanimously, all standing.)

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It is my pleasant duty to welcome into our midst Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Travancore, the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, the Maharaja of Benares, the Maharaja of Cochin, the Maharaja of Idar, and the Nawab Sahib of Loharu and the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot who have become Members of this Chamber during the current year. The addition of these new Members to our Chamber would, I am sure, add to our strength. They have been called upon to assume the great duties, obligations and privileges falling upon them as Rulers of important States at a most critical time, when the old order in India is fast changing. The position of the States at this momentous time in the history of India is one which causes very natural anxiety to our entire Order. The Rulers whom we are privileged to welcome today will be faced with vital issues affecting the future of their great and noble inheritance. I have no doubt that they are fully alive to the great responsibilities which they are called upon to shoulder.

This Chamber opens for them a wider field of activity, of close co-operation with Members of their own Order and an opportunity to serve the Empire, their own Motherland and the States as a whole. I am fully convinced that by their zeal and enthusiasm as well as by their interest in the affairs of our Order which we discuss in this Chamber, they will endear themselves to their brother Princes and become towers of strength to our cause. I now beg to move that:

"The Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Travancore, Bhavnagar, Benares, Cochin, and Idar, and the Nawab Saheb of Loharu and the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot on their assumption of powers and welcomes them all in its midst wishing them a long and prosperous reign."

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch:** I beg to second the resolution which has been proposed by His Highness the Chancellor.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur:** It is with genuine pleasure that I rise this morning to support the resolution which has been ably moved by His Highness the Chancellor in extending to Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Travancore, Cochin, Bhavnagar, Benares, and Idar and the Nawab Saheb of Loharu and the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot a warm and sincere welcome to this Chamber.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** The resolution proposed, seconded and supported reads "The Chamber of Princes offers its heartfelt congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Travancore, Cochin, Bhavnagar,

Benares, and Idar and the Nawab Saheb of Loharu and the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot on their assumption of powers and welcomes them all in its midst wishing them a long and prosperous reign".

Is it your pleasure that the resolution be passed?

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

**His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore:** Your Excellency, Your Highness the Chancellor and Your Highnesses; I feel honoured as well as touched by the cordial welcome that has been accorded to me by my brother princes and by the expressions of kindly comradeship that have accompanied the welcome. On such an occasion I can and shall say no more than this, that it will be my endeavour to maintain our traditions and to co-operate under the ægis of the Crown in the great tasks of preserving our individuality and our heritage and simultaneously of working for the common good and uplift of our country. It is my good fortune to have inherited from my illustrious predecessors a settled and progressive system of administration working in close contact with my people and in sympathy with their needs and aspirations. It will be my ambition and my happiness with the good will of His Excellency the Viceroy and your sympathy to proceed along these lines and to fulfil my responsibilities to my people and the Motherland.

This concluded the proceedings of the day.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND DAY.

The 29th March 1932.

The Chamber of Princes assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House, at 11 A.M. on Tuesday, the 29th March, 1932. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present:—

## Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni.	His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.	His Highness the Raja of Sailana.
His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.	The Raja of Sarila.
The Raja of Khilchipur.	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.
His Highness the Raja of Narsingarh.	

## Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.	His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.	His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.	His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.
His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur.	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

## Punjab States.

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.	His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.
The Nawab of Loharu.	His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

## Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar.
His Highness the Maharaja Raj Saheb of Dhrangadhra.	The Thakor Sahib of Palitana.
The Chief of Jasdan.	His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner.

## Bengal.

His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura.

## Bombay.

The Raja of Banada.	The Chief of Phaltan.
His Highness the Nawab of Cambay	His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla.
The Chief of Jamkhandi.	The Nawab of Sachin.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.	His Highness the Chief of Sangli.
The Raja of Lunawada.	His Highness the Sar Desai of Savantwadi.

## Bihar and Orissa.

The Raja of Dhenkanal.	The Raja of Talcher.
The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.	

## Central Provinces.

The Raja of Korega.	The Ruling Chief of Surguja.
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## Punjab.

The Raja of Baghat.	The Raja of Kalsia.
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## United Provinces.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.	His Highness the Raja of Tehri-Garhwal
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## Agendum No. 4.

*To receive a statement from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal reviewing the work performed by the Chamber during the past year.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I will call on His Highness the Chancellor to present the statement of the work done by the Standing Committee.

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I rise to submit to Your Highnesses my report on the work of the Chamber during the past year.

Your Highnesses are well aware that during the year under report the Standing Committee of the Chamber was pre-occupied with important questions of constitutional reform arising out of the Round Table Conference. Therefore it was not possible for us to devote the time necessary for the settlement of certain questions which were under discussion with the Political Department. Only one meeting of the Standing Committee could be held during the year under review, and that Committee sat on the 5th, 6th and 7th of March, 1932. The following questions were discussed at this meeting:—

1. Acquisition of non-residential property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.
2. Question of the inclusion of the talukas of Mansa, etc., in the electorate for representative members of the Chamber of Princes.
3. Question of vesting the Governments of Indian States with the authority to exercise censorship over telegrams.
4. Construction of Dams in Indian States.
5. Settlement of Boundary Disputes between Indian States.
6. Grievances of the Indian States arising out of the existing administrative arrangements for the exercise of jurisdiction in railway lands in Indian States.
7. Principles of compensation in the event of a railway being constructed which adversely affects the interests of an existing railway or tramway.

Out of these items, the question of the acquisition of non-residential property has been disposed of, and I shall later formally submit the recommendations of the Standing Committee for the consideration and acceptance of the Chamber.

The question of the inclusion of the talukas of Mansa, etc., in the electorate for representative members which was under the consideration of the Standing Committee has since been referred for further examination to a small Committee of Princes, assisted by the Political Secretary to the Government of India, which will report to His Excellency the Viceroy.

The question of censorship over telegrams is still under discussion and I trust that ultimately a satisfactory solution will be reached. It is proposed

that a deputation of Princes should pursue the discussion of this important matter with His Excellency.

The question of the construction of dams was discussed at a joint conference of our Ministers and the officers concerned of the Government of India in July, 1931. Later, it was felt that further consideration of this matter would be necessary after the Standing Committee has had an opportunity of taking legal advice on the subject. I hope before the end of this year we shall have advanced matters sufficiently to place before Your Highnesses a result which you might be disposed to accept.

In regard to the question of the settlement of boundary disputes, the opinions and suggestions of Your Highnesses' governments were invited by the Political Department on the draft rules framed by the Committee of Ministers and amended in 1929. And it is now proposed to have the rules further scrutinised in the light of the replies received.

The question of retrocession of jurisdiction over railway lands was fully discussed and the difficulties were stated and appreciated. I am glad to be able to report to Your Highnesses that the Government of India have agreed to take immediate action with a view to removing at least some of our administrative difficulties. The details of the arrangements proposed will be communicated to Your Highnesses by the Chancellor's office in due course. Briefly, they provide for:

- i. dealing with offenders on railway lands;
- ii. the issue by State officers of licenses for carrying arms on railway lands by our subjects;
- iii. frequent and regular touring by Railway magistrates for the convenience of State subjects;
- iv. retrocession of sovereignty to the States as distinguished from jurisdiction in cases where lands had been ceded in full sovereignty for railway purposes.

The main question of the retrocession of jurisdiction requires to be further examined, and this is being done. It is expected that a settlement will soon be reached.

The question of compensation in the event of a railway being constructed which adversely affects the interests of an existing Railway or Tramway has been referred to a Committee consisting of the Ministers of railway-owning States and others especially interested in it.

Besides the questions enumerated above, the Political Secretary discussed the following matters informally with the Standing Committee:—

- i. Proper arming of the Police forces of the States;
- ii. Training of cadets for Indian State Forces at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst;
- iii. Difficulties experienced by the Indian States as regards the armament of their armies and police.
- iv. Special Service Officers for Indian State Forces required for mobilization.
- v. Question of the financial liability of Indian States for deportation of French Indo-China subjects.

In regard to the proper arming of the Police, I am glad to be able to inform Your Highnesses that the Government of India have now agreed to remove many of the difficulties which we have been experiencing.

Discussions on the other questions are in progress and some ground has already been covered. It is hoped these discussions would be concluded before long.

Apart from these, the questions of Paramountcy and Honours have also been carefully examined. Under the direction of the Standing Committee I addressed a Communication to His Excellency the Viceroy and forwarded notes embodying our general opinion on these matters. The question of Ceremonial Honours was afterwards formally discussed with the Political Secretary by a special Committee, consisting of Their Highnesses of Kashmir, Bikaner, Patiala, Alwar and myself. The discussions have revealed many points of agreement and I hope that with the sympathetic support of His Excellency the Viceroy, these matters may be carried through to a successful conclusion. When this hope is realised, Your Highnesses will agree that the relations between the Ruling Princes of India and the Representative of the Crown will be much happier.

The important question of Paramountcy was the subject of prolonged discussions between His Excellency the Viceroy and the Standing Committee, and it is hoped, as His Excellency announced yesterday, that the result of our deliberations will be to remove many of our anxieties and to resolve most of our difficulties, and confirm in a practical manner the assurances frequently given to us in the past of the inviolability and security of our position under our Treaties, Sanads and Engagements.

This Chamber will no doubt express, at a later stage, its profound thanks in a formal Resolution, but I should not fail to express my personal sense of obligation to His Excellency, our President, for the sympathy and consideration which he showed in dealing with this question.

In conclusion, I must express my sincere thanks to the members of the Standing Committee for their unstinted co-operation and valuable assistance which they invariably gave me in the task that lay before me as Chancellor. I am specially thankful to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala who at great personal inconvenience acted as Pro-Chancellor in the absence of His Highness the Maharao of Cutch and myself. I must also express my thanks to Their Highnesses of Sangli and Dungarpur who worked as substitute members of the Standing Committee.

Last but not least, I am thankful to our friend, Sir Charles Watson and the Political Department, for the courtesy and consideration with which they have collaborated with us in the work of the Chamber.

In the end I also wish to announce for the information of Your Highnesses that I am not seeking re-election as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and I shall retire from the high office at the conclusion of this session of the Chamber.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It is with feelings of very great pleasure that I rise to propose the resolution that this Chamber records its appreciation of the work which the Standing Committee has done since its appointment. Their work during this period has been of the most difficult nature. They have had to tackle not only questions which have arisen since the creation of this Chamber and have been left on the list of matters under consideration,

but also those involving the most momentous issues affecting the well-being of the States as well as of India as a whole. In resolutely shouldering this important task they have proved themselves fully worthy of the trust which this Chamber reposed in them. They have shown their capacity to deal with those questions in a manner as may well entitle them to be called constitutional lawyers. When I say this, I am making no false praise of their work. Your Highnesses, who have shown interest in subject of the coming Federation, do well know how they have acquitted themselves. Just the other day while some of us were having what I would call a holiday, they were at their table from very early in the morning to a late hour at night, discussing the Ministers' report on the various proposals made by certain of Your Highnesses. This is but only one of the many occasions when they have been called upon to labour so hard. As Your Highnesses are aware, like us all, they have also to look to their own administrations. To perform this double task requires no little self-sacrifice apart from other numerous inconveniences and discomforts it entails. Further the Committee found time to investigate thoroughly, prepare and discuss such vital questions as Paramountcy and Ceremonial Honours. I am sure we all are satisfied to know from His Excellency the Viceroy's speech and His Highness the Chancellor's Report that good progress was made in the discussions held. And therefore it is our duty to offer to them our sincerest thanks for the most efficient manner in which they have borne their responsibilities. The scheme which has emerged from the Round Table Conference and especially the safeguards which all of us are so very anxious to secure are all the outcome of their earnest labours for the whole order of Princes, big and small, and I feel that we should be failing in our duty if we were not to express our sense of gratitude to them for all they have done for us. I feel sure I am only echoing the feelings of this Chamber in moving this Resolution for Your Highnesses' acceptance.

With these words I beg to move the following Resolution:—

“That this Chamber records its appreciation of the work done by the Standing Committee and its gratitude for the services rendered by Their Highnesses who belonged to it.”

**His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution so well moved by His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Kolhapur. This year has called for extraordinary tact, labour and foresight from our representatives on the Standing Committee, and we all know in what distinguished manner they have discharged their important task. Most of Their Highnesses on the Standing Committee at great inconvenience and loss of time and expense spent many months away from their homes and States in the service of our Order, of India, and of the Empire. The pages of the Federal Structure Committee's report and the reports of what was passing behind the screen bear eloquent testimony to their faultless advocacy of our cause and, of their patriotic efforts in the interests of India and of England. They have been ably assisted by distinguished ministers from Indian States whose work shall always receive our sincere appreciation. Here in India His Highness the Pro-Chancellor has with dynamic force, helped to prepare public opinion amongst Indian Princes regarding the many important issues confronting them, and we have had the testimony of no less a person than Your Excellency, confirmed by other independent successes, of the

constructive contributions of His Highness the Chancellor and his able colleagues helping to evolve a settlement of the delicate questions regarding ceremonials and paramountcy. These are great achievements on which they are entitled to our gratitude. But more so for the truly noble and princely lead they have given us at this bewildering juncture of our history by coming to almost unanimous agreement on most of the essential points involved in the Indian Princes' attitude towards federation. Your Excellency, I feel sure that the Indian Princes have reasons to be proud, and England and India are fortunate, that at this important period of our history the representatives of the Indian States consisted of such a selfless and patriotic band which includes Their Highnesses on the Standing Committee. We all wish them Godspeed in their efforts, and as a humble token of our gratitude I feel confident that this Chamber will unanimously record the resolution.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** After hearing the statement by the Chancellor of the work done by the Standing Committee a vote has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur and seconded by His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar to express their warm vote of thanks to the Standing Committee for the work done during the past year. Is it Your Highnesses pleasure that that vote be approved?

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

**His Highness the Chancellor:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; Before moving a vote of thanks to Dewan Abdul Hamid for the presentation of his report, I beg, on behalf of His Highness, the Pro-Chancellor, and my other colleagues of the Standing Committee, to tender our gratitude to Their Highnesses of Kolhapur and Jhalawar for their generous remarks and offer our grateful thanks to this Chamber for their vote of thanks.

#### Agendum No. 5.

*To receive from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal the report circulated by Khan Bahadur Dewan Abdul Hamid, regarding his work as a representative of India at the last meeting of the League of Nations.*

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; As Your Highnesses are aware, Dewan Abdul Hamid, with the kind permission of His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, was sent to Geneva last year to represent the States at the League of Nations. He has submitted his report to me as Chancellor, and I lay it on the table.\* It may be taken as read.

I think a good precedent has been established that one of our Ministers may represent the States, and we hope that it will be followed. But certain points have to be cleared up in regard to the representation by Ministers which no doubt will be done with the sympathetic support of His Excellency the Viceroy.

I think we should express our appreciation of the very creditable manner in which Dewan Abdul Hamid acquitted himself as our representative at the League of Nations. I now move that our thanks and expression of our appreciation should be conveyed to Dewan Abdul Hamid.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I beg to second the vote of thanks proposed by His Highness the Chancellor to Khan Bahadur Diwan Abdul Hamid for his splendid work at the League of Nations. I am personally more than pleased to see a precedent created for the Ministers of our States to represent us at such International and, I hope, Imperial gatherings, and although there will be some points which will have to be settled further in this connection, I have nothing but pleasure in seconding this motion.

**His Excellency:** Is it Your Highnesses' pleasure that this vote be passed?

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

This concluded the proceedings of the day.

## APPENDIX.

*Statement by Khan Bahadur Diwan Abdul Hamid, C.I.E., O.B.E., regarding his work as a representative of India at the last meeting of the League of Nations.*

The official report of the Indian Delegation was duly submitted to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India. The statement is by no means exhaustive and merely presents for the information of the Chamber of Princes a resumé of the salient features of the proceedings of the 12th Assembly and a brief description of the activities of our Delegation.

The composition of the Indian Delegation was as follows:—

### *Delegates.*

Sir Brojendra L. Mitter, Kt., Leader of the Delegation (Law Member of His Excellency the Governor-General's Executive Council).

Khan Bahadur Diwan Abdul Hamid, C.I.E., O.B.E. (Dewan, Kapurthala State).

Sir Denys Bray, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E. (Member of the Council of India).

### *Substitute Delegates.*

Sir Jehangir Cooverjee Coyajee, Kt. (Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta).

Rao Bahadur Sir Annepu Parashuramadas Patro, Kt. (former Minister for Education, Excise, Public Works and Registration, Madras).

Dr. Lodhi Karim Hyder (Professor, Muslim University, Aligarh, now member of Public Services Commission of India).

The Delegation with the exception of Sir Denys Bray and Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro, who joined us in London, sailed from Bombay on the 8th August 1931. Shortly after our arrival in London the Delegation assembled in the India Office for its preliminary meeting. At this meeting which was presided over by Sir Brojendra Mitter, Leader of the Delegation, allocation of the members to the various Committees of the League Assembly was provisionally settled. The Delegation re-assembled in Geneva on the 4th September 1931.

On 7th September the session of the Assembly opened with the reading of the inaugural address by Senor Lerroux, the Foreign Minister of Spain and President of the League Council. He reviewed the League's activities in the past year. At the conclusion of his speech it was

announced that the Governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Italy and Japan had proposed that the Assembly should invite Mexico to become a Member of the League. This was followed by the election of M. Titulesco, Delegate for Roumania and Roumanian Minister in London, as President of the Assembly for the second year in succession, winning a narrow victory by 25 votes to 21 over the veteran Count Apponyi of Hungary. The re-election of M. Titulesco marked a new departure and was a signal tribute to the efficiency with which the President had conducted the proceedings of the Assembly in the previous year.

M. Briand (France), Lord Cecil (British Empire), M. Yoshizawa (Japan), Dr. Curtius (Germany), Count Apponyi (Hungary), and Dr. Restrepo (Columbia) were elected Vice-Presidents. The Chairman of the six main Committees were as follows:—

<i>Committee.</i>	<i>Chairman.</i>
First (Constitutional Questions)	M. Scialoja (Italy).
Second (Technical Organisation)	M. Janson (Belgium).
Third (Disarmament)	M. Munch (Denmark).
Fourth (Secretariat and Finance)	M. Politis (Greece).
Fifth (Social and Humanitarian)	His Excellency Khan Ala (Persia).
Sixth (Political)	M. Motta (Switzerland).

In addition to the six main working Committees of the Assembly, there were, as usual, constituted a General or Business Committee, consisting of six Chairmen of the main Committees, the six Vice-Presidents of the Assembly and the Chairman of the Agenda Committee; and a Credentials Committee, consisting of 8 members.

The representation of India on the six main Committees is shown in the following table:—

#### COMMITTEE I.

##### *Legal and Constitutional Questions.*

Chairman :—M. Scialoja (Italy) ; . . . . .	Delegates of India :— Sir B. L. Mitter ; Sir A. P. Patro
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#### COMMITTEE II.

##### *Technical Organisations.*

Chairman :—M. Janson (Belgium) ; . . . . .	Delegates of India :— Sir Jehangir Coyajee ; Dr. L. K. Hyder.
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## COMMITTEE III.

*Reduction of Armaments.*

Chairman :—Dr. Murash (Denmark) : . . . . . Delegates of India :—  
Sir Denys Bray.

## COMMITTEE IV.

*Budget and Financial Questions.*

Chairman :—M. Politis (Greece) ; . . . . . Delegates of India :—  
Diwan Abdul Hamid;  
Sir A. P. Patro.

## COMMITTEE V.

*Social and Humanitarian Questions.*

Chairman :—His Excellency Khan Ala (Persia) ; . . Delegates of India :—  
Dr. L. K. Hyder ;  
Sir J. C. Coyajee.

## COMMITTEE VI.

*Political Questions.*

Chairman : - M. Motta (Switzerland) ; . . . . . Delegates of India :—  
Diwan Abdul Hamid ;  
Sir Denys Bray.

The circumstances in which the 12th Assembly met were far from encouraging. It met under the shadow of a world-wide economic depression coupled with an alarming financial crisis. The clouds of war in the Far East overhung its concluding stages. This Assembly would have come to an end within 3 weeks, had not the discussion of the concrete proposal for a 12 months Armaments Truce put forward by Signor Grandi, the Italian Foreign Minister, made it necessary to prolong the proceedings for a further couple of days.

It was natural that the speeches in the course of the general debate should reflect general anxiety over the economic and financial crisis and a hope that the impending Disarmament Conference would lead to desired results. Sir B. L. Mitter, Leader of the Indian Delegation, spoke twice in the full Assembly. On the first occasion he supported a resolution moved by Lord Cecil, expressing sympathy with China in her recent disasters. He laid stress on ties of neighbourhood and our ancient and

common civilisation and offered on behalf of India an ungrudging tribute of sympathy. In his second speech Sir Brojendra expressed India's firm belief in the ideals of the League. He referred to the problem of reduction of armaments and expressed a hope that the Conference which was going to meet next February would achieve satisfactory results. He went on to point out that the world slump was as important as the problem of Disarmament. At the suggestion of the Indian Delegation in the previous year the problem of economic depression was subjected to a close study under the auspices of the League during the current year but depression had since grown in severity and he recommended not only a continuation of that study but also investigation of the means of putting the fruits of that study into concrete effect. He dwelt on co-operation between the League's Health Organisation and India and also on our mutual intellectual co-operation. He spoke of the activities of the League in the East during the previous year, mentioning, in particular, the assistance the League was giving to China in the midst of her troubles and the visit to India of that great Economist Sir Arthur Salter. He hoped that the future activities of the League would conclusively show that the criticism that the League was more interested in problems of the West than of the East was not justified. It is gratifying to observe that at the 12th Assembly the Indian Delegation was afforded ample scope for activity and it is noteworthy that on this occasion the position of India was recognised to a greater extent than was previously the case in respect of appointment to the various special Committees set up by the Assembly. Dr. Hyder was elected to the Agenda Committee of the Assembly, which consists of only seven members. He was selected by the Committee to be its Vice-Chairman and was subsequently elected Chairman in place of M. Bellegarde (Haiti) who was prevented from attending the Assembly. This important appointment carried with it membership of the General Committee, or Bureau, of the Assembly. Sir J. C. Coyajee was elected member of the drafting Committee of Committee VI appointed to draw up a report on the Commission for European Union. Sir A. P. Patro was elected to a Sub-Committee of Committee I appointed to draw up a report on the Nationality of Married Women, and to a Sub-Committee of Committee IV which dealt with the question of contributions to the expenses of the League which were still in arrears. In Committee V, I was elected to the Sub-Committee which dealt with Slavery. Finally, India was one of the overseas States invited to sit on a Special Committee to be convened by the Council to study the question of a Pact of Economic Non-Aggression. Between 20 and 30 speeches were made by the Indian delegates, and some account of the principal of these will be found in the official Report the Delegation has submitted to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State.

As stated above I represented the Indian Delegation on Committee IV, Budget and Financial Questions and Committee VI, Political Questions. In these Committees I spoke more than once. On the Budget Debate in the 4th Committee I followed the tradition of the previous Indian Delegations of pressing for effective retrenchment in the expenses of the League and endorsed the proposal to refer the budget to the Supervisory Commission for further scrutiny. I referred to the statement of the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission in which he had explained the financial position of the League with great earnestness and clarity, and

to that in which the Secretary-General had enlightened the Committee as to the action he had already taken to reduce expenditure. Both these statements showed clearly that the need for meticulous caution in the future financial commitments of the League and for drastic economy and retrenchment in its expenditure was imperative without a shadow of doubt. The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission had evinced no hesitation in taking the Committee into his confidence, and no attempt was made to refrain from painting the situation in its true colours.

As regards India's payment of her annual contribution, I stated that notwithstanding the heavy figure of her contribution and her adverse financial situation there has never been any failure or remissness in meeting her League obligations. With regard to the policy of economy and retrenchment, I was glad to observe that the general sense of the Committee was in full accord with the attitude of the previous, and the present, Indian Delegations. In 1926 a resolution was passed on the motion of the Indian Delegation with the object of stabilising the expenditure of the League at the level of that year, namely, 25 million francs. In 1928 a further effort was made in the direction of securing economy. Unfortunately that effort met with partial success, and this year again showed a rise in the total budget for 1930 amounting to 28 million francs, that for 1931 to 31½ million francs, and the first estimates for 1932 amounted to 35½ million francs. It was true that, making allowance for the cost of the Disarmament Conference and the development of liaison with China, the first budget for 1932 was in reality smaller than that for 1931. The Assembly now, however, found itself faced with a supplementary budget for ½ million francs. It was a source of lively satisfaction to the Indian Delegation that the League Budget was, as a result of the efforts of the Supervisory Commission and the 4th Committee, substantially reduced.

Interesting discussion on the problem of slavery took place in Committee VI in which I was able to take a more or less active part. The British Empire Delegation had been defeated last year, both over a proposal to set up a permanent Slavery Commission and a modified proposal to revive the temporary Slavery Commission that had sat in 1924 and 1925. Their first intention had been to reintroduce their original proposal, but in view of the financial situation of the League it was soon apparent that they would have little chance of success. They therefore proposed only the revival of the temporary Slavery Commission, reserving the right to return another year to the principal proposal for the creation of a special bureau. In an interesting speech Lord Lytton stated that slavery still existed in 12 countries and that the number of slaves was estimated at five millions. The proposal was opposed by Portugal.

In the course of my speech, I supported the British proposal particularly as the cost of it was to be as low as possible. There was no slavery in India. It had existed in the so-called non-administered areas of Burma; but in the last five years the Indian Government had sent expeditions to those areas, and slavery and human sacrifice no longer existed there. I suggested that one of the members of the Committee proposed by Lord Lytton should be a representative of Oriental countries. I supported Count Apponi's suggestion that the Emperor of Abyssinia should be congratulated on his action against slavery.

The question was then referred to a Sub-Committee consisting of delegates from Denmark, Belgium, British Empire, Spain, Abyssinia, France, India, Italy, Liberia, the Netherlands and Portugal. This Sub-Committee met under the chairmanship of the Netherlands delegate. The proposal of the British Delegation was supported by the representatives of Denmark, India, Liberia and Spain, but certain doubts were expressed as to the expediency of reappointing the Temporary Commission on Slavery, as to its practical value and as to its correctness from a legal point of view. After the exchange of views the Sub-Committee unanimously agreed on a draft resolution which was finally adopted by the Assembly. It requested the Council to appoint for one year a small Committee of experts to examine the material upon slavery which had been supplied or transmitted by Governments since the signature of Convention of 1926. This Committee would submit to the Council suggestions with a view to recommending to the next Assembly the measures of assistance which the League of Nations could render to those countries which had agreed to abolish slavery and which requested such assistance.

Noteworthy events of the 12th session were the acceptance by Mexico of an invitation to join the League, the Italian proposal for the Armaments Truce, the participation of representatives of the Governments of the United States of America, Turkey and other States outside the League in the consideration by the 3rd Committee of the foregoing Italian proposal and the outbreak of the dispute between China and Japan over Manchuria. The Italian proposal for an immediate truce in armaments was followed by a resolution submitted by Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland, which urged the Governments invited to the Disarmament Conference to show their firm determination to support the efforts to ensure peace and re-establish mutual confidence by abstaining, pending the result of the Conference, from any measure leading to an increase in the present level of their armaments. The French struck a discordant note and expressed the view that before any such agreement as that proposed could become effective it would be necessary to hold a conference to decide the definition of the difference between increasing and maintaining armaments. In the drafting Committee a great effort was clearly made to produce a text to which the French would agree, and the full Committee did not meet again till Monday, the 28th September. The Chairman then explained that the drafting Committee had been unable to reach an agreement and M. de Madariaga, the rapporteur, stated that the trouble had been that while some delegations wished to put a definite stop to the growth of armaments others did not wish to arrest programmes already begun or sanctioned. Lord Cecil then tried to clear the ground by pointing out that there was general agreement on the idea of a one-year armaments truce beginning from the 1st November, and suggested that Governments should declare their readiness to refrain from an increase in armaments, though there would be no objection to replacements. He was generally supported by M. Motta (Switzerland), but M. Sato (Japan) insisted on a reservation regarding programmes already arranged. The matter was then again referred to the drafting Committee, which finally produced a resolution requesting the Council to ask Governments to state before 1st November 1931 whether they were prepared for a period of one year from that date to refrain from any measure involving an increase in their armaments. After a long meeting this was accepted subject to a passage in the Committee's report to the Assembly explaining that the undertaking would not be incompatible with the regular execution

of programmes for the maintenance and renewal of land, naval and air material or of fortifications, and the formation of the necessary supplies. Persia abstained from voting and Chile stated that she could not take a decision within the specified period. The resolution was adopted at the final meeting of the Assembly on Tuesday, the 29th September.

The Assembly was placed in a very difficult position by the Manchurian imbroglio. Fortunately, neither party to the dispute approached the Assembly on the subject and the League Council remained in session after the close of the Assembly to tackle the problem.

The work of the Commission of Enquiry for European union set up in the previous year was criticised in two respects. It was said, first, that it was constantly setting up committees whose functions overlapped those of existing organs of the League, and secondly, that it utilised League time, money and organisation for exclusively European objects. It had been under the auspices of this organisation that proposals for European agricultural credits and special preferences for the absorption of European grain surpluses had taken concrete form during the past year. The validity of the first criticism was demonstrated by the fact that most of the questions with which the Commission were concerned were promptly referred to the Second Committee, which deals with economic and financial questions. As regards the second, the attack on regional arrangements under the cloak of the League begun by Sir B. L. Mitter in the full Assembly and pressed by Sir J. C. Coyajee in the Second Committee, was carried home by the latter in Committee VI, where he received strong support from Japan and Persia. In a speech on the 15th September he said that there could be no doubt whatever that the working of the League and of the Commission of European Enquiry must lead to some waste of effort as they were studying mostly the same problems on parallel lines. To have a study of world economy first on a comprehensive scale and then on a scale proper to only one continent must lead to a diversion of energy. Nevertheless, this diversion would be compensated for and even justified if two conditions were realised. In the first place the European Union might have been an experiment in rapid and decisive action as regards the reduction of customs, timely financial assistance to needy States, the spirit of co-operation in agriculture and of rationalisation in industry; if so, it would have served as a model and a pattern for the rest of the world which would have been a most valuable experiment. But unfortunately the original momentum imparted to the movement by Monsieur Briand had been lost in a great measure and the results were of a much less important character than might have been expected.

The success of the Indian initiative was again seen in the treatment accorded to the Soviet proposal for a Pact of Economic Non-aggression, which had been placed before the Commission for European Union and forwarded to the Assembly. Committee VI and Committee II concurred in referring this proposal to a special Committee consisting of representatives of Australia, Canada, Chile, China, India, Japan and Uruguay and suggested that the Council should be asked to invite the Government of the United States of America to send a representative. In addition, the final resolution presented by the drafting Committee for submission to the Assembly, though approving the continuance of the work of the European Commission, enjoined upon it to have recourse whenever possible to the technical organs of the League, and to refer to the League the settlement of any problems which appeared capable of solution on a world scale.

The social side of the 12th Assembly was greatly marred by the economic factor. The various Delegations were unanimously anxious to curtail social functions within the narrowest limits. Consistently with this policy the Indian Delegation refrained from dispensing hospitality on as liberal a scale as in previous years and in this respect confined itself to a strictly limited number of functions.

In conclusion, I venture to remark that a perfect spirit of co-operation animated the whole Delegation and under the distinguished leadership of Sir Brojendra L. Mitter it discharged its important duties as a well organised team.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD DAY.

The 31st March 1932.

The Chamber of Princes assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House, at 11 A.M. on Thursday, the 31st March, 1932. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present:—

## Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni.	His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.	His Highness the Raja of Sailana.
His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.	The Raja of Sarila.
The Raja of Khilchipur.	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.
His Highness the Raja of Narsingarh.	

## Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

## Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.	His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.	His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.	His Highness the Mahraj Rana of Jhalawar.
His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur.	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

## Punjab States.

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.	The Nawab of Loharu.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.	His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.
	His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

## Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanager.
His Highness the Maharaja Raj Saheb of Dhrangadhra.	The Thakor Sahib of Palitana.
The Chief of Jasdan.	His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wanakaner.

## Bengal.

His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura.

## Bombay.

His Highness the Nawab of Cambay.	His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla.
The Chief of Jamkhandi.	The Nawab of Sachin.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.	His Highness the Chief of Sangli.
The Chief of Phaltan.	His Highness the Sardesai of Savantwadi.

## Bihar and Orissa.

The Raja of Dhenkanal.	The Raja of Talcher.
The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.	

## Central Provinces.

The Raja of Kore.	I The Ruling Chief of Surguja.
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## Punjab.

The Raja of Baghat.	I The Raja of Kalsia.
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## United Provinces.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.	I His Highness the Raja of Tehri Garhwal.
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## Agendum No. 6.

*Resolution of thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for having taken up with His Highness the Chancellor and the representatives of the Chamber the questions of Paramountcy and Ceremonials.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy;** I will ask His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to move the first resolution.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; The Resolution that stands in my name to-day runs as follows:

“The Chamber of Princes places on record its sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for having taken up with His Highness the Chancellor and the representatives of the Chamber the questions of Paramountcy and Ceremonials, the early settlement of which is of vital importance to the States and expresses the earnest hope that they will be disposed of satisfactorily at the earliest possible moment.”

This Resolution was originally put down in my name but because I happened to be on the Standing Committee then it was proposed that three other Princes who were not on the Committee should speak on it; but I maintained that on such an important occasion and on such a proposition as Paramountcy as well as Ceremonials, particularly the former, it would be difficult for those who were not in the inner precincts of the Chamber to know exactly what had happened, and to realise how the questions had been dealt with. Therefore the Standing Committee were good enough to place this Resolution in my name.

Taking Paramountcy first, to me it seems that this is the fundamental question that lies at the root of all the propositions that come before the Chamber; and once this question is properly understood, I maintain that all other questions will be simplified, for we shall then know exactly what are our respective positions regarding which, let me state, there is no doubt inherently; but in order to clarify the position it has been raised for discussion with Your Excellency.

The question of Paramountcy began when it was known that Mr. Montagu was coming out to India to discuss with Lord Chelmsford the question of Reforms in so far as they affected British India. At that time it was thought vital that Indian States should be prepared with their points of view, and I prepared a small pamphlet dealing with the question of Paramountcy, which I circulated to my brother Princes and others. Since then, the Chamber has dealt with important questions, but that of Paramountcy has loomed large before it. I am very glad therefore to see that, after nearly ten years, the question has come very much to the fore and has actually taken shape and is in a condition to be presented before Your Excellency for discussion with the Standing Committee. It is on the settlement of this fundamental question that a great deal of our future depends; it is on the settlement of this question that we shall, with a much easier mind, enter Federation, regarding which Round Table Conferences have already taken place.

In discussing this problem with Your Excellency only those who have been present at the meetings can realise how very sympathetic you have been and how wholeheartedly Your Excellency has viewed our difficulties.

and has come forward to overcome them in so far as it lies within your power to do so. We realise and appreciate that in the settlement of this question lies the settlement of all other important questions including that of Federation, for it is meant to bring out nothing more than a clear exposition of our mutual positions, which, while they may be clearly understood between ourselves may emphasise what our position is *vis-a-vis* the Crown; *vis-a-vis* the British Government. Therefore on such an important question it is only natural that the Princes should lay a tremendous amount of stress, and if I may say so—Your Excellency has taken a broad outlook and a sympathetic point of view thereon, which enables us to come to decisions. We await further discussions but they too have reached a stage that has produced within us a sense of extreme gratefulness for all the labour and kind thought which Your Excellency has devoted to this important cause. Therefore I do not think it is unnatural that we should be inspired at this moment to move a Resolution of thanks for the manner in which Your Excellency has considered this proposition; and we do most earnestly hope that it will come to a final solution early, in order to clarify the issues, before us including the details, in various forms, of Federation.

The question of Ceremonials is also one on which my Order lays considerable stress, for it affects the dignities of the States and of the Rules; and, if I may say so, I have had my emotions roused to their innermost depths by the expeditious and sympathetic manner in which Your Excellency is dealing with this proposition, the result of which has been that we have already advanced to a considerable degree in coming to agreements and arrangements regarding the future. With regard to the questions that remain to be settled I do not think the Princes are more anxious than Your Excellency to set them at rest once and for all in a satisfactory manner to both sides. Therefore while I am speaking on this Resolution of congratulation, I do not wish it to be understood that my sentiments, or those of the Princes to which I feel sure I am giving voice, are merely an outward expression. They are really the result of our innermost feelings of gratefulness for all you have done and for what we may well have expected of you knowing you as some of us do for the last twenty years and over.

In conclusion, all I have to state is that, while many of the Princes may not know what were the actual subjects and questions discussed, it will become apparent to the members of this Chamber perhaps, as His Excellency stated in his inaugural address, at the next session of the Chamber how they have reason to feel that we have a Viceroy who is wholly sympathetic to our cause and who is dealing with these propositions almost as if they were his own. In this connection, I hope you will not forget Your Chancellor is also working wholeheartedly in our cause, with indefatigable energy and who has brought these points forward in such a businesslike manner. But on this subject I shall speak at a later stage; when I shall move a resolution of thanks to His Highness the Chancellor for his work, and when I shall have some nasty things to say about him.

Your Excellency, I ask that this resolution may be placed before the Chamber.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It gives me very great pleasure to second the Resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar. The questions of Paramountcy and Ceremonials have been exercising the minds not only of the Princes but, I believe, also of Government. It is not easy, I recognise,

to draw a short line defining the functions of Paramountcy and as Your Highnesses are aware the difficulties of the task were clearly before the Butler Committee when they had at last to say that Paramountcy was Paramountcy. Paramountcy carried with it its privileges as well as obligations and responsibilities towards Indian States. On the other hand Your Excellency has indicated in your Opening Address very lucidly and impressively the corresponding duties which the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States imposes on the latter. If those duties are always borne in mind by our Order I have no hesitation in saying that the question of Paramountcy and all that it conveys will present very few difficulties and, as Your Excellency has very rightly remarked, that it will strengthen the position of the Princes under the Treaties and render entirely unnecessary the effective protection of the Crown. Your Excellency's keen and active interest in the welfare of our Order and the wide experience gained by Your Excellency by a personal and friendly contact with Princes in relationship with Bombay and Madras Governments will afford Your Excellency very great help in considering sympathetically the questions of Paramountcy and Ceremonials and we confidently hope that at the meeting of our Chamber next year we shall have the pleasure of receiving at the hands of Your Excellency a satisfactory solution of these vexed questions. Our grateful thanks are due to Your Excellency for indicating in general terms Your Excellency's views regarding the obligations and rights under Paramountcy of both the parties concerned. I have, therefore, very great pleasure in seconding the Resolution moved by my friend His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Alwar.

**The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I deem it a special privilege to have this opportunity of supporting the Resolution so ably moved by His Highness of Alwar and seconded by His Highness of Kolhapur. Of the many striking tokens of Your Excellency's abiding solicitude for the well-being of our Order, we most gratefully appreciate the opportunity which Your Excellency has been pleased to afford to His Highness the Chancellor and Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee to discuss with you the important questions of paramountcy and ceremonials.

Your Excellency knows how highly—may I say jealously—we prize honour given and received. Ceremonials are but the outward manifestation. And even as the word bodies forth the idea within the ceremonials stand as the objective symbol of the relations which bind us to His Majesty The King Emperor.

We are today at the parting of the ways—on the threshold of much that may indeed be quite new. Your Excellency is well aware that we are enabled to contemplate these innovations unperturbed in spirit because of our knowledge that our relations with the Crown will continue unchanged. At such a juncture therefore it is but meet that we inwardly realise the full significance—the mutual claims and privileges—involved in those relations.

Constitutions may come and go, institutions may radically change yielding place to new. But there is one thing that shall not suffer change—one thing that shall for ever remain the buttress and bulwark of the Empire and that is the unwavering attachment of our Order to the person of the King Emperor.

It is this thought which prompts us to express our heartfelt thanks to Your Excellency, for having taken up the questions of 'Paramountcy' and 'Ceremonials' with His Highness the Chancellor and Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee.

Your Highnesses, I have great pleasure in supporting the Resolution.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** Your Highnesses have heard the terms of the Resolution proposed by His Highness of Alwar and seconded by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur and supported by the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj. Is it Your Highnesses' pleasure that the Resolution be passed?

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

I would only say to Your Highnesses once again that I felt considerably embarrassed while listening to the three perfectly charming speeches with regard to Paramountcy and Ceremonials. I am very fully alive—and have been so for many years—to the importance that Your Highnesses lay upon the question of Paramountcy and also upon the assurance that we may clear up certain matters in regard to Ceremonials. I own, if I may be permitted to say so, that I am rather inclined to think that this Resolution is of a previous character, for we have neither finished our discussions with regard to Paramountcy, nor have we completed all our discussions in regard to Ceremonials. I am grateful to Your Highnesses for having taken certain things on trust. I can only assure you that nothing shall be left as far as my endeavours are concerned to try and bring things to a satisfactory conclusion, satisfactory both from Your Highnesses' point of view and satisfactory from the Crown point of view in every possible way. I would only add one word and that is this. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar did make the remarks that he was grateful to His Excellency the Viceroy for having got through the Ceremonials discussion so expeditiously—not nearly sufficiently expeditiously for His Highness the Chancellor. I would tell Your Highnesses again this morning, as I said before in my opening speech to the Chamber, that from the moment that he and I became associated, he as Chancellor and I as President of the Chamber, he has never ceased, if I may use a colloquial expression, bombarding me with various matters connected either with Paramountcy or Ceremonials. I am considerably an older man than His Highness the Chancellor and have not got the power of rapidity which he still possesses. I have done my best and I can only say that I shall continue to do my best in the joint interest of the Crown and the Indian Princes.

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#### Agendum No. 9.

*To receive a statement from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal regarding the work of the Indian States Delegation to the Round Table Conference.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I call on His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal to make his statement.

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; Before presenting my report on the work of your representatives at the Round Table Conference, I have the honour to read to you the following

message which has been received from His Highness Maharaja Gaekwar who was the Leader of our Delegation in England:—

“Your Highnesses, the Second Session of the Round Table Conference was held in London last year. Owing to my ill health I was not able to take a full part in it. His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal as Chancellor of the Princes Chamber had to take my place and do the whole work for which we cannot thank him too much. With these few words I commend to Your Highnesses the Report drafted by His Highness the Nawab Sahib.”

The Report is now laid on the table and may be taken as read.

#### REPORT.

The Indian States Delegation to the Round Table Conference was enlarged by the nomination of Their Highnesses of Indore, Cutch and Kapurthala, the Rajas of Korea and Sarila and a representative from Travancore. His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir who was unfortunately not able to be present at the Conference was represented by Colonel Haksar while Nawab Liaqat Hyat Khan acted as substitute delegate to His Highness of Patiala who was also unable to attend the Conference.

The Federal Structure Committee was summoned to meet in London on the 7th of September. Our representation of the Committee was strengthened by the addition of Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Baroda, the Maharaja of Rewa, the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, and the Chief of Sangli. The Committee met again in St. James' Palace under the Chairmanship of Lord Sankey. Owing to ill health His Highness Maharaja Gaekwar was not able to take part personally in the detailed work of the Conference throughout and his place in the Committee was taken by his Minister, Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari. As the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, I was therefore entrusted with the active leadership of the delegation.

Your Highnesses have been kept fully informed through the weekly bulletins issued from my office of the work done by your delegation in London and therefore it is hardly necessary for me to allude to it at length. The programme put before the Federal Structure Committee by the Lord Chancellor was to fill in the details of the scheme adumbrated last year, especially in regard to the composition, character and powers of the federal legislature, the composition and responsibility of the federal executive, the allocation of financial resources to the Federal Government, the constitution of the Supreme Court and the definition of the safeguards necessary in the transition period in the administration of the Army, External Affairs, and other Crown subjects and in the maintenance of credit and currency. In regard to each of these questions our representatives after discussion in the private meetings of our delegation generally put forward an agreed point of view.

In regard to the Federal Legislature it was our unanimous view that both the Chambers should have co-ordinate authority in every respect, that there should be no difference in powers between the Upper and the Lower House and that in cases of difference which cannot be resolved by the ordinary methods of reference back, a joint session of the two Chambers should be convened. The majority of our Delegation strongly urged in the

terms of the Resolution of the informal Conference of Princes held in Delhi prior to the sessions of the Chamber, that the Upper House should consist of 250 members and that we should be allotted fifty per cent. of the seats, while the Lower House should consist of 400 members and the States should receive  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. Unfortunately on the question of the Upper House it was impossible to secure unanimity among ourselves as some States expressed with emphasis the view that the Upper House should be a small and a compact body. The Committee ultimately reported in favour of a House of 200 members and allotted to the States 80 seats on the basis of 40 per cent. As soon as this report was published I wrote to the Lord Chancellor the following letter drawing attention to the Resolution of the Chamber and requesting His Majesty's Government to take no irrevocable decision on this point.

"As anticipated there has been considerable dissatisfaction expressed by the Princes in India about the proposal contained in the third Report of the Federal Structure Committee that the numerical strength of the representatives of the States in the Upper Chamber should be limited to 80. I have been receiving numerous cables from India pressing me to ask for at least 125 seats in the Upper Chamber. I understand that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has, in consultation with many of his brother Princes in India, cabled you expressing the same opinion.

"I feel that there is much greater chance of the federal proposals being accepted by a larger number of States, if a larger number of seats than is at present proposed is available for distribution amongst them. You will remember that in the Committee itself I pointed out that the Chamber of Princes had, after full consideration, instructed its representatives to secure at least 125 seats in the Upper House.

"You were good enough to assure us that you will personally undertake to see that the Constitutional guarantees necessary for the maintenance of the rights of the States will be incorporated in the new Constitution. I am confident that we can leave the matter safely in your hands with the assurance that when the time comes the Princes will be consulted and their interests will be fully protected.

"I am emphasising these points only because I am anxious to secure for the proposals which emerge from the discussions at the Conference, the widest possible support from among the Rulers and Governments of Indian States. Whilst the Chamber of Princes is anxious to make the Conference a success, it naturally attaches the greatest importance to the sovereignty and independence of the States and it will, before giving its final consent, examine the constitutional proposals resulting from this Conference primarily with a view to see how far the legitimate interests of all the States have been fully safeguarded, and how far it has been possible, without interfering in their internal affairs, to draw up an All-India Federal Constitution which would guarantee and secure to them their existence through the generations that are to come. In order, therefore, to obtain the widest possible measure of agreement among the Rulers of the

States specially the smaller States and to strengthen the hands of those of us who desire to help in the creation of an All-India Federation, I request you to give your kind and sympathetic consideration to the points to which I have drawn attention in this letter.

"I should very much like to have a quiet talk with you some time before the Prime Minister makes his declaration, and would do so whenever it is convenient to you. I shall be out of London for one day, on Tuesday, the 24th instant."

*Representation of States in the Federal Ministry.*—In the federal ministry, representation of the States will be secured by a constitutional convention. Besides it is clear that if one-third of the total number of seats in the Lower House is to be allotted to the States, they will form such a compact and powerful body as to ensure to the States an adequate share in Federal administration. The fact that the Upper House in which we shall have 40 per cent. representation, will be co-ordinate in authority with the Lower House would tend to strengthen our position in the Government. On this point, Your Highnesses Representatives are fully satisfied that the interests of the States were adequately protected.

The question of federal finance was explored by a Sub-Committee on which the Delegation was represented by Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Mirza Ismail, Colonel Haksar and Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari. Even before the matter was referred to a Committee, we had made it clear that no scheme of federal finance will be acceptable to us which (1) included any proposal of direct taxation of our subjects by the Federal Government (2) did not abolish the tributes now being paid by some States and take into consideration the assignments of territory in view of payment by others. The report of the Committee while generally accepting our principle suggested a corporation tax as a source of federal revenue. As this proposal was not in conformity with our view that no direct taxation should be extended to the States, our delegation opposed it in the Federal Structure Committee. Some members of the delegation also held the view that it was not possible for their States to accept or reject the Federal Structure Committee's proposals until (a) the full implications of the financial proposals were worked out and made available to them and (b) an enquiry was begun into the pending cases of an economic character between the States and the Government of India. These two principles have now been accepted and the Prime Minister's final statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government contained the announcement that committees for these purposes will be appointed as early as possible. Those committees have now arrived in India and are engaged in the detailed examination of some of the questions raised by the delegation.

*Federal Court.*—The question of the Federal Court which we always considered to be essential in the interests of the States had not been discussed at the last session of the Conference. Our point of view was that the federal judiciary should be established as the joint court of the Crown and the States deriving its jurisdiction by delegation both from the Crown and the States and it should have exclusive and final authority to deal with questions relating to the interpretation of the Constitution, controversy between units of the Federation and between the States and the Federation. The proposal that there should be appeals from the Federal Court to the Privy Council was opposed by us on the ground that such appeals will constitute an infringement of our sovereignty.

On such important questions it was necessary that the States delegation should have at its disposal expert legal advice as the questions which arose in connection with the Federal Court were of a technical character. Therefore after due enquiry, I engaged the services of two eminent constitutional lawyers Mr. Upjohn, K.C., and the Hon'ble Cyril Asquith, whose council and advice were taken by me in regard to these and other questions

The plenary sessions was held on the 28th of November. The point of view of the States was put forward by many speakers, more especially by His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, the Pro-Chancellor, and the Rajas of Korea and Sarila and by myself. The policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to India, and the proposals in regard to future work were announced by the Prime Minister in his speech on the 1st of December. It affirmed in unequivocal terms the decision of the National Government to pursue the idea of an All-India Federation with the States constituting an integral part of it, and to make the federal executive responsible to the legislature subject to important safeguards in relation to the Army, External policy and Financial credit. The outstanding details in regard to franchise, finance and the claims of the States would immediately be enquired into by expert committees appointed by His Majesty's Government presided over by public men from England. The work of these committees will be co-ordinated by a small and representative body chosen from among the members of the Round Table Conference. When their reports have been submitted and examined His Majesty's Government propose to summon the whole Conference to review the conclusions.

So far as the States are concerned, the Prime Minister's statement accepts the fact that the allotment of seats among themselves is primarily a domestic concern for the States and their Rulers. It is not necessary I hope to emphasise how great a responsibility rests on us in having thus undertaken to settle this question to the satisfaction of all legitimate interests of Indian India. Failing an agreement among us, the only alternative would be to refer the matter to an expert Committee appointed by the Crown.

During the whole period of our work in England the Indian States Delegation met regularly and worked as far as possible as a united team. Our regular discussions proved helpful in reconciling different points of view and in many cases in reaching agreement among ourselves. We were thus generally able to speak with one voice and what was of equal importance, to preserve a complete understanding among ourselves. It is true that on some questions like the numerical strength of States representation in the Upper Chamber, we were unable to secure unanimity of views but those minor differences did not in any manner affect the spirit of general harmony and of friendly co-operation that marked our work as a delegation.

In this connection I would be failing in my duty if I did not pay a tribute to His Highness Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, our respected leader. Though in indifferent health, His Highness kept himself fully informed and gave us the benefit of his valuable advice and weighty support. I should not also omit to mention the invaluable help which the delegation received from the other Princes and Ministers on it.

Colonel Haksar also worked as Secretary General to the States Delegation and Mr. Panikkar, Secretary to the Chancellor, was as before Secretary of our Delegation. Their zeal and energy left nothing to be desired. Our thanks are due to them also.

### Agendum No. 13.

*Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Panna regarding the appreciation of the services rendered to the States by the Indian States Delegation to the Round Table Conference.*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Panna:** I rise to perform a most pleasant duty to put before this Chamber for its acceptance a resolution placing on record our sincere appreciation of the services rendered to the cause of Our entire Order by the Indian States' Delegation, who advocated so ably our just claims again at the second Round Table Conference.

The Delegation was led most ably, formally and generally, by our Chancellor and supported whole-heartedly by the rest of the members. Among them I must single out our experienced and veteran Prince—His Highness of Bikaner, who was always ready to help our leader in all emergencies with his vast knowledge. The scheme of Federation was again discussed and from the results of the Conference, we can happily say that the avenues of advance have certainly been cleared for further progress towards our goal of Greater India.

It was apparent to those, who closely studied the Delegation's work at the Round Table Conference in London, that while the Federal Scheme was worked on, the States Delegation concentrated on two main issues, viz., that the legislatures for all-India common matters should be really stable, and the safeguards for Indian India of the States should be such as would give the Princes full confidence that their internal sovereignty would not be encroached upon and their solemn treaties and engagements with the Crown shall remain inviolate and inviolable.

For the above mentioned purposes, some of my Brother Princes had great deal of discussion in India. And before the second session of the Round Table Conference was held in London, a number of Princes, after great labours, had evolved a definite formula of a Confederation of Princes for the purpose of their collective entry into Federation and of further safeguards to protect their rights and sovereignties.

It was to represent this point of view that my friend and esteemed brother His Highness of Dholpur went to the second R. T. C., I am sure, like the rest of the Delegation, at personal inconvenience for the sake of our Order and took part in the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee there. Unfortunately, a great deal of misunderstanding had been created by uninformed criticism in the Press against this idea of ours, as it was supposed to be directed against the very idea of federation. Thanks to the able leadership and untiring zeal of His Highness of Dholpur, he slowly but surely dispelled the dark clouds of suspicion that had gathered, and it was admitted that the proposal of a Confederation was not incompatible with the scheme of Federation. As a matter of fact, I may say, without being extravagant, that this scheme was drawn up with the express purpose of bringing federation still nearer to realisation. May I, therefore, take this opportunity of asking Your Highnesses to join with me in expressing our sincere thanks to His Highness for the unique services he has rendered by his work at the Round Table Conference and otherwise, to our Order, while he was in England.

Until a few days ago, it was thought that a schism had been created among the Order of Princes and it was feared that it would not be easy to bridge the gulf; but with the incessant and genuine efforts of some of

our friends, we are in the happy position today, of being unanimous on all these points and are able to present a united point of view before our friends in British India and in Britain.

I need not say much with regard to the work that lies ahead of us. The scheme of federation has been drawn up only in its outline, and the colours have to be filled in satisfactorily before the picture is complete. I am sure, with their past record of success, we can rely upon our Delegation carrying on the task to a successful termination in the coming year.

I cannot finish without saying a few words for the work that our Ministers did on the Federal Structure and the Federal Finance Committees. The way in which they represented the States' case in the latter Committee does great credit to them, and I hope, I am speaking for this whole House, when I say that our sincere thanks are due to them.

Your Highnesses, we are passing through very momentous times and it is but natural that everybody should be looking with expectation on every step that is taken, when the constitution of a vast country like India—my beloved Home—is on the anvil. History is being made, and we should be more than careful to avoid false steps. It takes time to arrive at definite and really satisfactory conclusions (and therefore time in such matters is sometimes of the essence).

In conclusion I beseech Your Highnesses to give your best at this momentous period of our motherland to achieve our goal, and I am sure that, with the help of Providence, we shall satisfactorily conclude our labours that we began two years ago.

With these words I move for your acceptance the following resolution :

"Resolved

That this Chamber places on record its sincere appreciation of the service to the cause of the States rendered by the Indian States Delegation, in advocating their just claims at the Round Table Conference; more especially, this Chamber desires to record its gratitude for the scrupulous manner in which its representatives adhered to the mandate given by the Resolutions of this Chamber."

**His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It is with great pleasure that I rise to second the Resolution moved by His Highness of Panna. I need not say that the work entrusted to the Indian States Delegation at the Second Session of the Round Table Conference was not only tremendous, but at the same time highly delicate and responsible. The Members of the Delegation, with a clear conception of the rights and privileges of our order, have adhered to the spirit of the mandate and have most creditably discharged the onerous duties which devolved on them. It must be admitted that they have not failed to put before the Conference the just and legitimate claims of the Indian States. I would not like to distinguish and discriminate the services rendered by the Members of the Delegation, one and all, with a single-minded devotion to duty, but I cannot help mentioning the work done by our distinguished Chancellor with his usual enthusiasm and energy, combined with sagacity and wisdom. With these words I second this Resolution.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** Your Highnesses have heard the Resolution which has been proposed and seconded. Is it your pleasure that that Resolution be passed?

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Excellency; Your Highnesses: May I on behalf of myself and the other Members of the Indian States Delegation to the Round Table Conference express our sense of gratitude to the speakers who have referred in such appreciative terms to our work in England. I do not think anybody is entitled to credit for the performance of a duty, and where duty happens to be a sacred trust there is the less reason to feel elated. At the same time I am bound to acknowledge our deep sense of gratification at the handsome testimony to our humble efforts, and may I therefore request Your Highnesses to accept our sincere and heartfelt thanks for your generous appreciation.

**Agendum No. 11.**

*Acquisition of non-residential property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.*

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I now rise to place before Your Highnesses the recommendations of the Standing Committee in regard to the question of Acquisition of non-residential Property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

This question has been under discussion for the last 12 years. A summary was placed before Your Highnesses in November, 1921, and it was generally accepted; after which, it was circulated to the Local Governments, etc., for expression of opinion and a revised summary prepared in the light of the criticisms received was placed before the Standing Committee again in 1924. It was suggested that the Local Governments should be asked what practical difficulties had been experienced in this matter. The Committee made the following tentative suggestions and decided that these suggestions should also be circulated:—

1. That Notables and relatives should be eliminated from the Summary altogether as they are liable to all the British laws in British territory.
2. That in the case of purchase of land by Ruling Princes or their Heirs-apparent, the Government of India should give its consent to "Benami" transactions being resorted to for purchase of land which would do away with the difficulty in British India with regard to Princes being sued in Criminal or Civil matters.

After the enquiries as suggested above had been instituted, and opinions elicited, the question was discussed in the Standing Committee in May, 1926, and the following opinion was recorded:—

"The Standing Committee desire to put on record their conviction that it is unjustifiable to place any obstacles in the way of Ruling Princes and Chiefs and members of their families acquiring non-residential property in British India provided that the property in question remains subject to the Rules and Regulations locally in force and that some person or persons are formally declared as responsible in the eyes of British Indian Law and to the authorities there, in case of need."

As a result of discussions, the Honourable the Law Member offered to look further into the matter with a view to find some solution which would meet our point of view.

In September 1926, the Law Member's suggestions were considered, and two Notes by the Chancellors' Secretariat were sent to the Political Department. In December 1927, the Committee again took up this question and it was decided that the Government of India should be asked to have the matter further examined. The result of this re-examination was submitted to the Standing Committee in January, 1929, and as the summary was amended in some respects, it was again circulated to the Political Officers and Local Governments for opinion. In March, 1930, the summary as revised in the light of the opinions received was placed before the Standing Committee. On the basis of criticisms then made by our representatives it was felt that the summary should be re-drafted in conformity with legal requirements.

At its last meeting, the Standing Committee considered the summary in the final form, and I am glad to be able to say that an agreed settlement has been reached and the summary as now placed before Your Highnesses in column 2 of the Memorandum, which represents the result of our discussions, concedes to the Princes the right of acquiring non-residential property without the *previous* consent of the Government of India except in the case of transfer by mortgage. It also concedes the principle of acquisition of non-residential property in the name of any other person. These were the points which Your Highnesses' representatives were urging for a long time. As our points have been considered, I recommend that the summary may be generally accepted, and thus allowed in our President's happy phrase to attain Nirvan.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala:** I beg to second it.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** Your Highnesses have heard the speech presenting this summary to your notice. Is it your pleasure that this summary be received?

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

I have two pieces of information before we adjourn to inform Your Highnesses about. One is this, I understand that, through the generosity of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, Division Bells have been placed in the various rooms of this Chamber, so that any Member of the Chamber, if he is secluded in one of those rooms when a Resolution has been discussed and a division is called, will have no excuse for not coming into the Chamber to give his vote in the Division. I am grateful to feel that at present there has been entire unanimity in this Chamber—long may that continue and there be no necessity for the ringing of the bells. The second matter which I have to say a word to you about is this: I understand that Your Highnesses are going to be good enough to come to the Viceroy's House this afternoon to hear a few words from the Viceroy. I hope you will arrive at 4-15 in the afternoon in order that you may fortify yourselves with a cup of tea before you have to bear the speech of the Viceroy.

This concluded the proceedings of the day.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH DAY.

The 1st April 1932.

The Chamber of Princes assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House, at 11 A.M. on Friday, the 1st April, 1932. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present:—

## Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.	His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.	His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.
The Raja of Khilchipur.	The Raja of Sarile.
His Highness the Raja of Narsingharh.	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

## Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.
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## Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.	His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.	His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.
His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Dholpur.	His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.
His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur.	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

## Punjab States.

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.	The Nawab of Loharu.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.	His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.
	His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

## Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	His Highness the Raj Sahib of Wan-
The Chief of Jasdan.	kaner.
The Thakor Sahib of Palitana.	The Thakore Sahib of Wadhwar.

## Bengal.

His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura.
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## Bombay.

His Highness the Nawab of Cambay.	His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla.
The Chief of Jamkhandi.	The Nawab of Sachin.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.	His Highness the Chief of Sungli.
The Chief of Phaltan.	His Highness the Sardesai of Savantwadi.

## Bihar and Orissa.

The Raja of Dhenkanal.	The Raja of Talcher.
The Mahareja of Mayurbhanj.	

## Central Provinces.

The Raja of Koreea.	The Ruling Chief of Surguja.
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## Punjab.

The Raja of Baghat.	The Raja of Kalsia.
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## United Provinces.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.	His Highness the Raja of Tehri Garhwal.
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## Agendum No. 10.

*Resolution regarding the work of the Indian States Delegation to the Round Table Conference.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I call upon His Highness the Chancellor to move Agendum No. 10.

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I have been made responsible to move what may prove to be the most important Resolution of this Session. The true position is that it is the Chancellor who is moving it in his representative capacity.

Before I address myself to my task I should like to state a fact which brought us much comfort, and which, I feel sure, will gratify every friend of the States. That fact is, that the slight differences that had arisen amongst us have all been happily composed, thanks principally to the noble efforts of my brother, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. Nor must I omit to pay a tribute to our loyal ministers, who, in mutual discussion, arrived at a common understanding. They plumbed the merits of the Confederation Scheme, and while demonstrating its specific utility, they showed the way to its practical application. For my part, I may say no scheme has ever possessed any horror; whatever is for the common good of the States, I conceive it my duty to accept and support.

Now, to go on with my task: as a consequence of the position reached at the Round Table Conference, His Majesty's Government are naturally anxious to get on with the drafting of the Bill which will lay down the future Constitution of the Government of this country. As economically the most important problems of India are those in which not merely British India but the States also are interested, the Constitution will have to provide machinery for the treatment of those problems in a manner which will ensure that proper and equal regard will be paid to all interests. That such regard is essential has probably been felt all along, though it has not yet been legislated for.

Under the Act of 1919, there had to be a review of the position after ten years. Even before that period was over, the Statutory Commission was appointed, and its recommendations went some way, though not far enough, to remedy the principal defect of the Act of 1919. To enable discussion of how best the interests of British India and the States could be adjusted, Sir John Simon recommended that "some sort of conference should be set up and that in this conference, His Majesty's Government should meet both the representatives of British India and the representatives of the States for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement . . . ."

I am reluctant to hold the attention of Your Highnesses too long this morning but I hope that before moving the Resolution of which I am in charge, I may be permitted to pass in rapid review the development of the relations of the States with the Crown in the earlier stages, through the East India Company, and later, when the Crown assumed direct responsibility for the affairs of India.

I think I am right in saying that India, as we know it today, came into being in 1858—but relations between the States and the British Nation had been gradually evolving from the middle of the eighteenth

century. By the beginning of the nineteenth, many an alliance had been formed, and 1818 marked the culmination of treaty-making and the ratification of solemn Engagements. Thence-forward, there was a comparative lull in this branch of the East India Company's activity until in 1857 the flames of the Sepoy revolt burst forth and charred the country. What the attitude of the bulk of the States was towards the British Power during that cataclysm, it is unnecessary for me to describe. We rejoice to think that Britain has not forgotten that attitude, and we are convinced that she fully appreciates the response of the States to her call during the dark days—1914 to 1919.

Before the Mutiny occurred, some steps had been taken to undo the wrong done to the States by the doctrines of lapse and escheat, which it was realised were not applicable. But for a matter of fifty years from 1860 onwards, the year by which calm had been restored, the British Government applied themselves to the reconstruction and development of their possessions in India. Means of communication were introduced and multiplied, the circulation of money in aid of commerce was increased, and incidentally economic development tended to overshadow political obligations. It became increasingly apparent to us that for the benefit of British India alone we were being handicapped in the economic development of our States. We protested, but our protests were all against the infringement of one part only of our rights, namely, political. In our ignorance, we did not then realise how our fiscal and financial rights had at the same time been adversely affected. Meanwhile, when in 1917 before the Government of India Act of 1919 was passed, we were offered an opportunity to ventilate our grievances, we did make it clear—and this is an important point and relevant to the subject of the Resolution I am moving—that we found ourselves confronted with a position in which the economic interests of the States were left unprotected—and that we thought this unfair. We urged that we must have an opportunity of discussing matters which touched our vital interests and an effective voice in the determination of policies regarding those matters. We succeeded in evoking the sympathy and support of the two statesmen to whom we directly appealed, and they formulated recommendations to meet our wishes. But in the ultimate result, the matter rested there.

The end of another decade found our position even worse than before, and we succeeded to the extent of obtaining an investigation. For whatever reasons it might have been, this investigation led to the formulation of certain dicta which we were unable to accept. They gave rise to serious misgivings in our minds to which expression was given on the floor of this august House.

I must here point out that my review of the past is not being made in any unfriendly spirit. The object of my narrative is rather to show how the present position has been reached. Your Highnesses are aware of the re-assuring attitude of the Viceroy, and for my part, throughout the year I have held office, and more particularly during my visit to England, the conviction was borne in upon me that whatever may have happened in the past, in the immediate future a new chapter in the history of the States is going to be written, and they can safely believe that in the future they will be immune from any encroachment upon their Treaty rights, and that their economic interests will be fully safeguarded.

Now, if my rapid, and, therefore, entirely inadequate review brings out anything, it brings out a fact, which is the fundamental fact of the social economic and political existence of modern times, namely, that any community or society which hopes or seeks to ensure the protection of its interests must rely upon its own resources for the shaping of those interests. It must take a hand in their determination and regulation, and it must insist upon the security of all its essential rights. It was for this purpose that Your Highnesses' representatives at the Round Table Conference helped to evolve an all-India Constitution. In the main, the position we have created is as follows:—

1. Our dynastic matters must remain in the care of the Crown;
2. Our internal affairs must remain beyond interference from any quarter.
3. Our Treaties, or Engagements, or Sanads must be literally respected; and
4. there must be other necessary safeguards embodied in the Constitution.

Given these guarantees, we shall for matters agreed to be of common concern join an all-India Constitution in the confident belief that this association with British India will be worked for the common benefit and that each party will receive broad justice from the other, and there will be an utter absence of mutual nagging and carping criticism.

In addition, we can, and do rely upon His Majesty's Government to protect our interests and to see that our rights are not impaired in any manner. And we have implicit confidence in the Viceroy, our President, that he will secure to us these necessary guarantees.

Your Highnesses, with these words, I commend for your acceptance the Resolution which reads as follows:—

*The Resolution.*

1. This Chamber declares that the States will join an all-India Federation on the assumption that the Crown will accept responsibility for securing to them the following guarantees:—
  - (a) that the necessary safeguards will be embodied in the Constitution;
  - (b) that under the Constitution, their rights arising from Treaties, or Sanads or Engagements, remain inviolate and inviolable;
  - (c) that the sovereignty and internal independence of the States remain intact and are preserved and fully respected and that the obligations of the Crown to the States remain unaltered.
2. To secure this end, this Chamber authorises its representatives further to carry on negotiations in accordance with the mandate given to them at the informal meetings of the Princes; and retains the right to examine the whole Constitution in its completed form and the draft Bill before the final ratification by the Chamber and by each individual State.

Before I conclude, I should like to observe that when dealing with a question of such magnitude as the impending changes, it is natural that Your Highnesses should have some anxiety. Personally, I am convinced that with the necessary guarantees secured, an all-India Federation will be entirely to our advantage. In proof of this I should like to invite Your Highnesses' attention to the fact that the most Conservative House of Commons there has ever been, and a Conservative House of Lords did actually endorse the policy of an all-India Federation. It must not be forgotten that the Crown also has interests in India, and it is not to be supposed that it will sanction a Constitution which will imperil its own interests and those of its friends and allies.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I rise to second the Resolution so ably moved by His Highness the Chancellor. The Indian Princes, Sir, recognise that they owe triple obligations to the Crown, to their States, and to India. As such any scheme, worthy of their support and participation, must ensure simultaneous and effective discharge of these triple obligations. This is the proviso, with which we all conditioned our support to the principle of Federation when we met at the first Round Table Conference. The working out of a Federal Scheme, embodying the suggestions of the different interests involved, consistent with a composite and workable constitution for Greater India, was referred to the Federal Structure Committee. The Committee produced a scheme, and be it said to their credit that they laboured hard, and that their scheme, which in their own words was only a skeleton to be filled in, provoked constructive thought, and brought out the main issues involved. We all rotatated it over. Some of us, on a leisureed and closer examination of the scheme as it stood, felt that it did not completely fulfil the tests under which we could safely come into it, capable of effectively discharging our treaty obligations to the Crown, to our States, and to India. Those of us, who felt that way, had a very delicate and difficult task to perform. Their silence would have meant that the scheme would have proceeded on those lines, and necessary safeguards would not have been pressed for incorporation which alone could make it acceptable to the majority of the Indian States; and we would have been faced with a dilemma, when the picture was completed, of the Princes refusing their adherence. An open expression of views, on the other hand, was likely to excite misunderstandings and misgivings, both amongst the advocates of the Sankey Scheme and the British Indian opinion. We anxiously weighed all these; and finally decided in the interests of the States, of India, and the Empire, to declare what we felt. Our intentions were misunderstood. Our motives were misrepresented. This was not unexpected. But we were convinced that when our various suggestions are dispassionately examined, no true friends of the States, amongst the Princes, could afford to stand apart.

Your Excellency, the proposals which had been associated with me and with Their Highnesses of Indore, Dholpur, Panna, Porbander, Jhalawar and others appear to have been generally misunderstood. These proposals, as was explained in my interview to the *Times of India*, dated the 18th September 1931,

"did not contemplate an alternative scheme of constitution, but provided certain amendments and necessary safeguards which without obstructing the constitutional progress of India or infringing on the interests of States or the Empire, will provide a machinery that would ensure the desired co-operation

between British India and the States, by eliminating chances of friction or unreasonable inroads on the sovereignty of the States or interference by the latter in exclusive British Indian problems. They keep the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature intact, and they offer safeguards to the smaller States vital to their very existence without affecting the proportionate importance of the bigger States in the constitutional fabric".

Our distinctive proposals embodied two aspects, the institution of the Confederation of the States for the purpose of Federation with British India, and the essential safeguards in addition to those proposed in the Sankey Scheme, vital for the States' adherence to a Federal constitution. These have now been examined dispassionately with a view to evolve a common policy which may command the united support of the Indian States. And I am happy to be able to declare, unequivocally, that we all stand united on the fundamental essentials involved. We have ceased to represent different parties and groups on the main planks of an All-India Constitution. Our united programme is embodied in this and the next Resolution. Federation, with additional safeguards agreed between us, is now as much mine, as Confederation elaborated in our discussions is His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner's; and unitedly, we can announce, with the full concurrence of our Brother Princes, our resolve to enter an All-India Federation, with proper safeguards, so that we can effectively discharge our obligations to our States, to India, and to the Crown.

Your Excellency, we recognise that on many matters of common concern, our interests, on the whole, are identical with our compatriots of British India. These matters can best be managed by a joint Federal authority which, with necessary safeguards, should be responsible to a joint Legislature of British India and the States. Given proper guarantees, we are prepared to contribute our best in that All-India Constitution. We shall willingly make any adjustments or delegations necessary to secure that ideal. And we trust that our friends in British India will appreciate, that our desire to maintain intact our internal autonomy and our cultural entity, is as natural as their demand for ordered progress.

Our position towards the Crown is equally clear. We have inherited treaties, with the rights and obligations flowing therefrom, which have been declared inviolate and inviolable by successive Emperors, and we treat them as the sheet-anchor of our polity. We feel that under the new constitutional arrangement to which His Majesty's Government is pledged, we cannot effectively discharge our obligations to the Crown under the treaties, unless we become partners in the Greater India Architecture now being designed, with proper safeguards suited to our special conditions. We also recognise that we have a substantial stake in the country, and as trustees of our posterity and our people, we cannot commit ourselves in matters of fundamental importance to untried and unexplored agencies, unless the Crown, under treaties, is a party to our participation in the new constitution, and guarantees our rights and privileges and is capable of discharging its obligations to us under the Treaties.

This is the purport of the Resolution which I have the honour to second; and I would, in all earnestness, commend it to the unanimous acceptance of this House. The scheme now jointly evolved by us seems, to my mind, immune, as far as possible, from any dangerous complications. It

does not subordinate the practical realities of our special conditions to a mere slavish imitation of other Federations with its various implications. It gives us an opportunity of offering our hand of fellowship and assistance at this most crucial juncture in India's History, to our countrymen in British India in the solution of their constitutional difficulties, at a time when they need our help. It provides for the conserving of our sovereignty in matters of common concern, by sharing their governance with our compatriots from British India. It offers us the means of assisting the Crown in the discharge of its clear pledges to India and in the solution of India's very grave constitutional problem. And last but not the least, it provides an opportunity of combining our stabilising influence, with the stable elements in British India, to serve as a barrier against unsteady or convulsive developments in India, and to assist towards ordered progress and happiness of our people.

Your Excellency, I am conscious of the fact that many important matters have yet to be settled, and I know that till the whole picture is completed, we shall have to watch its developments anxiously and carefully and till then our support must be provisional. But I confidently hope that through the constructive statesmanship of the best of England and the best of British India and the best of the Indian States—big and small—we shall jointly evolve a constitutional scheme worthy of the acceptance of the best of these three elements, and which shall ensure individual and due representation of all members of the Chamber of Princes (present and future) with satisfactory representation of remaining States.

Your Excellency, standing here, I would earnestly appeal to the Press and public opinion, of England and India, to assist us in evolving the right atmosphere of constructive sympathy, unity, and accommodation, and the respect of law necessary to expedite the desired objective. Thus, under the constructive guidance of a trusted and tried friend like Your Excellency, representing His Majesty the King Emperor, the Indian States bringing their best culture, through a Confederation of States, into the cultural pool of Greater India, will make it possible for the United States of India under the ægis of the British Crown as an equal and honourable part of the British Government, to hold its head high amongst the Nations of the World, as a great factor for peace and progress of humanity, worthy of our great past and capable of producing even a greater future.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: In order to place myself in accord with the Rules of Business of the Chamber, I find that, while there are rules regarding the moving of resolutions, there is no rule about seconding or about supporting, and therefore I rise neither to second nor to support, but nevertheless to speak in favour of the resolution that has been moved by His Highness the Chancellor in regard to federation. Before I proceed further, in order that it may be clearly understood as to what my predecessor and I have to say, I would like, even at the expense of boring some of my colleagues and members, to give a few words, if I may, from the speech that I made at the Round Table Conference in the first year. I said then that I shall be as brief as I can in my quotation—

“The problems in India are more complicated, more momentous than the problems in any other country. Race, religion, Language, Government, all these things together make a

nation. We see how in Asia, and especially in India, race difficulties, linguistic difficulties, social difficulties, and national difficulties all melt away before the unifying power of spirituality. Therefore, for the well-doing of our national cause we must give up all our little quarrels and differences. Remember above all things that our ancestors look down upon us, and they will do so with contempt on their children if they quarrel about minute differences. It is when the national body is weak that the disease germs—in a physical, social or political state, or even in an intellectual state—crowd into the system. To remedy it, therefore, we must go to the roots of the disease, and the one tendency will be to strengthen the man, the mind and the body. It is culture that withstands shocks, not a simple mass of knowledge. Therefore, my friends, let us do nothing that will divide us, for divisions will weaken us all the more. You all know that at this psychological moment the whole world is watching us. The solution will not be obtained by dragging down the higher but by raising the lower up to a higher level. To make a great India, therefore, the secret lies in organisation, accumulation of power, but above all in the co-ordination of wills. Have that faith in ourselves, in that eternal power, first lodged in our soul, and then we shall revive the whole of India. Let this be our determination, and may He the Lord Who comes again and again for the salvation of His own people—as is described by many of the different Scriptures of the world—lead us all to the fulfilment of our aim—the uplift of India, the good of the Empire.

"We must now come down to mundane affairs, and Federation is the question before us. I am not enchanted with that word as a mere form of expression; to me "the United States of India" sounds more grand. Here are the representatives of two Indias, today each possessing different religions but united in the common bond of patriotism which permeates throughout our respective territories and provinces. We are united in the service of our country; united in our co-operation with the British Empire, of which we form a part—the highest symbol of whose political link is the King-Emperor. The two Indias are politically separate in their administration, and in order to understand the source of their existence we must—but for only a few brief moments—peep into history", which I need not go into now.

With regard to British India, I said then:

"Those who are its representatives are perhaps best able to speak on this subject; but there are two alternatives, which I can best define by the terms "Eastern" and "Western" conceptions. Talking of the first, there are many who hold the view—however prosaic or antiquated it may sound—that British India may be formed again into Indian States. I will not occupy your time in discussing the details of the problem, however logical and interesting they may be, because I have not the time on the first day except to state (a) that it brings true Swaraj as a living reality considerably nearer: (b) that it

perpetuates the link with the Crown through its representatives, the Viceroy of India. With Hindu, Muhammedan, Sikh and other States so formed it would set at rest communal questions. Above all, it maintains in strong bonds commercial and trade relations with England. It necessitates an Imperial Army to safeguard the Crown's obligations and to protect the ports and frontiers, with the internal army of the States maintained for security and assistance in emergencies. It ensures religious liberties to every section of India's population, and it carries on the tradition of India's rule according to her past history of hundreds of centuries. And finally, coming to Federation, or what I prefer to call "The United States of India", it immediately simplifies the problems of rulers uniting in a common body to work out the problems of India. Here is the shortest and the quickest way to Dominion Status. This is what would be an indigenous growth.

"The alternative to this had its first seeds sown in a little known Despatch by Sir Charles Wood, the grandfather of the present Viceroy, who was then Secretary of State, and who initiated the idea of the English language being the medium of education and government. This was followed by Lord Macaulay, who strengthened this theory. Gradually this system has grown, which culminated first in the Minto-Morley Reforms, where the latter statesman, however, was opposed to the introduction of democratic organisations in India. It is from Mr. Montagu, that passionate lover of India—my country—that events took a definite turn towards responsible self-government. Here the irony of fate exhibits itself for, as we learn from Lord Ronaldshay's book, this term was devised by Lord Curzon, who was no less opposed than Lord Morley to democratic institutions for India. This I am sure will be generally acknowledged to be a Western system of rule and, therefore in India not a growth but a graft. But having said so much I now come to my main point, that, if this system is now accepted by British India as the best method for her advance, if that is, as declared also, the final policy of the British peoples towards India, what do I conceive to be the opinion of the States? We realise all that this innovation implies in an Eastern country . . . .

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"A united India will be the finest and truest jewel and the strongest force in the cause of our Empire. Under this system I come again to the proposition called at present by the name of Federation, where my ideal is the "United States of India" within the Empire. We are assembled at this table to devise means and ways in order to achieve this end by co-operation, and I am sure you will not find our States lagging behind in joining hands in order to arrive at a happy solution.

"We are quite conscious of what it means. We know what all big changes imply. It may necessitate at first a little more injustice. It may mean a little less efficiency at first. It

must mean larger sacrifices on everyone's part—the States, and perhaps some of the majorities and minorities. But for our country's cause, for the cause of India, for the cause of the Empire, shall we stop short for personal, communal or narrow-viewed considerations? Our lives will pass away, but our country will remain. Then at least let it be said we were the true sons of our Motherland, India."

I hope I will be forgiven for quoting something that I said in the first Imperial Round Table Conference during the first four days of its general discussion.

Now, so far as the Indian States are concerned, the Resolution is indeed so wide, and yet so explicit, that I cannot believe that any of my brother colleagues either inside this house or outside the Chamber can have any great misgivings or any misgivings, if they read the resolution carefully, as to the future it implies. Our relations with the Crown through its representative the Viceroy with regard to dynastic, personal and internal matters will remain just the same. We are prepared to unite with British India in matters of common concern; and now let me ask what is the reason, why have we launched forth on this scheme. Is it merely because we want to share in the spoils of the Customs Department or of the Excise Department or of any other Department which brings forth rupees? That would indeed be a very selfish way of looking at the matter. The main reason why we made such a sudden plunge into federation during these four days of general discussion at the Round Table Conference was this. It was made explicit to us, both outside the Conference as well as inside it, that, unless the Indian States joined in the scheme—which was regarded by Sir John Simon as a remote possibility, and which was described even in the Government of India despatch in the time of Lord Curzon as a remote possibility, and which is described by the leaders of all the three parties, namely, by Mr. Macdonald, the Premier, Lord Reading on behalf of the Liberals and Lord Peel on behalf of the Conservative Parties, that what he had stated had virtually caused a revolution,—the basis and the force of our argument and the line that we took was mainly because, as I was attempting to state a little earlier, it was made very clear to us that if the Princes and the States of India—both synonymous terms—do not join in a scheme of federation with British India, India could not be given any authority at the centre of any kind whatsoever. Now, we Indian States, are we going to stand in the way of British Indian advance and be the bull's eye in the target for others to prove that the Indian States stood in the way when British India was aspiring,—not for what has been suggested in certain quarters, by certain organisations for the independence of the country—but when British India was aspiring to become a sister dominion on a footing of equality with other dominions such as Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland and South Ireland. I do not think this is an ambition too highly pitched, nor is it an ambition unworthy of India herself. But still more I can say that it would not be unworthy of the traditions or the lessons that England has taught India during her tutorage during the last 125 years. Therefore when we were placed in this, a peculiar, but yet a very strong position,—it would be at our free will to come into the federation or not—we should not be made the target at

which the British India could aim and say, 'It was not the British Government that stood in our way, but it was the Indian States, who did not enable us to advance to our full status of dominion, stature. That is the main question which I would like to present to this Chamber which enabled us to go forth, and which has now been responsible for this resolution coming before the Chamber in which it is declared that the Indian States will join the Federation, and, I hope, what will be called eventually the scheme of a United States of India. Your Highnesses, the resolution that you are passing is of a general character in the first sense and of a particular character in the other, and I do not think the most conservative need be frightened, as it lays down the essential condition, namely, that our treaty rights, privileges and prerogatives under the Crown will be duly safeguarded. And if we enter a confederation, although this is not done in the resolution, it will be because we want to see our countrymen advance to a stage where they will place themselves no more or no less than on a footing of equality with the other sister dominions. From the statement that has been made by His Excellency the Viceroy himself, very soon after he took charge of his distinguished office, I can quite understand that there may be snags, that there may be propositions and problems. I can well understand that those who have provided some schemes, who are in fact the fathers of the proposal, may well be interested in these schemes, because it is only natural. The ministers are naturally more interested even than ourselves, and I feel sure that many of them will be taking responsible positions when this federation scheme or the United States of India Scheme is evolved, going there either as our individual representatives or representatives of our united party which may be called a confederation. I know at this juncture very few of us are prepared to discuss, or have even understood the implications of federation *versus* confederation, or bi-cameral legislatures *vis-a-vis* unicameral legislatures: these are problems of the future, in which I have no doubt that Your Highnesses will have a voice. It has been specifically laid down in the resolution—we are asking our distinguished Chairman to request His Imperial Majesty's Government, before that scheme is finally passed, that we should be allowed to have our say on it. Therefore while you have the right to join this federation or not, and even in fact after joining it to secede from it if you find it inconvenient or uncongenial, I do not see where the difficulty lies in Your Highnesses backing this resolution to-day. Therefore, although I have stated my views in the beginning, which are essentially of an Eastern character, which character is already observed and followed in one-half of India excluding Burma, if it is for the good of British India which is the country under the sovereignty of the Crown, if the Crown itself desires that it should make an advance, then I do not think that we would be entitled or justified in standing in the way of our brethren achieving their goal. Besides, in view of the provision that is already in the resolution, very clear and emphatic, and of the fact that any cobwebs that may have existed in our minds have been removed in our personal conversations with His Excellency our distinguished Chairman, I cannot think that there can be any great difficulty, and therefore I hope that Your Highnesses will give your whole-hearted support to the resolution that has been moved by His Highness the Chancellor, that has been favourably supported and wrongly seconded by His Highness of Patiala according to rules of business, but nevertheless supported, and that has now been further favourably supported by me. I hope, Your Highnesses, after whatever anybody else,

any of Your Highnesses, may have to say on the subject, that it will receive the warm support of this Chamber.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; from the very outset I have been attracted by the idea of an All-India Federation. I have always felt that in some such scheme would lie a satisfactory solution of the constitutional problem of India. It has been clear to my mind that active co-operation between the two halves of India—British as well as Indian India—in matters of common interest was essential to the future constitutional advancement of the country. Ever since this idea has begun to be mooted it has passed through various vicissitudes. It has been blessed by many important Princes and severely criticised by others. This resolution which is the result of anxious thought and deliberation reconciles the conflicting schools of political thought and contains a declaration on the part of the Members of this Chamber that under certain conditions they will be prepared to enter an All-India Federation. The resolution indicates in general terms the safeguards and guarantees to which the Indian States attach the greatest importance and which are indispensable not merely for the future existence of Indian States as internally independent political entities but also for the enduring success of an All-India Federation. To my mind the real test of a sound scheme of All-India Federation would be of a triple character: a scheme which is calculated to place on a lasting basis the connection of a self-governing India with the British Crown, which protects the rights and position of Indian States in the future body politic of India and secures active association on the basis of equality between British India and Indian States on matters of common interest. If these conditions are fulfilled I am sure an All-India Federation will be a source of inestimable blessing both to our country and to the Empire. Numerous important questions will have to be determined before an All-India Federation becomes a *fait accompli*—form and character of Federal Legislature, proportion and method of representation of Indian States in the Federal Legislature, share of Indian States in the Federal Executive, Federal Finance, etc. But I sincerely hope that once an All-India Federation is accepted in principle by the States a satisfactory settlement of the foregoing problems will not present insuperable difficulties. With these remarks I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; it is with some diffidence and hesitation that I rise to-day before this august body to express before Your Highnesses my own position in the matter. Let me in the very beginning assure everyone here that I have no intention whatsoever of using any words which would minimise the advantages of the Indian unity. I think Your Highnesses' accredited representatives have worked unceasingly on your behalf and have made every effort to safeguard the general interests of the Indian States and for which no doubt, I am sure, all of us are very grateful to the Standing Committee. The time has however now arrived when I feel that I should clear my position and try to remove the misconception that existed with regard to my own point of view. I may remind all concerned that never in any of my public utterances have I opposed the idea of Federation in any way. Never did I dream of minimising the advantages that will be derived from the unity of our Mother-land. But when at the very beginning of the Round Table Conference I

spoke somewhat differently to my revered Brother Princes, there were special reasons which forced my conscience to express my own point of view. I do not know anything in regard to the choice of other representatives of Your Highnesses' Order, but I do remember that with regard to myself, while I was on a hot weather tour within my State, I received a letter from His Excellency Lord Irwin enquiring of me whether I shall be prepared to take the onerous task of representing the Conservative point of view in the Round Table Conference. I had until then got no opportunity of discussing this subject with any of my Brother Princes and thereby find out the views of different people, that could not be termed Liberal or Conservative. After all, the words "Liberal" and "Conservative" are comparative terms. Liberals of to-day will be the Conservatives of to-morrow. Anyway, I accepted the invitation of His Excellency the Viceroy and agreed to discharge the very delicate obligation of representing the Conservative point of view in the Round Table Conference. Until the actual day when the Round Table Conference was convened and the work started I was not in a position to know what the views of the Conservative States were. The bulwark and tower of cautions and well-balanced Conservatism, the descendant of a most chivalrous family of Rajputana, His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur had until then expressed no opinion on the subject and I was naturally trying to take the first opportunity of consulting him and consulting others of my Brother Princes on the point. However within a week after the beginning of the work of the Round Table Conference, the question regarding Federation was brought up. Until then very detailed consultations had not been held and as the consensus of opinion of the Princes was not known, at least to me, I felt it was premature to make any statement especially at that juncture. I therefore simply sounded a note of caution but I can assure all Your Highnesses that in that caution I had never intended to oppose the idea of Federation. Until then, the views of Parliament, the two Houses of Parliament, were still unknown. We had heard different views being expressed in India by different schools of thought, some moderate and others otherwise. I was not myself quite certain as to what attitude the British Indian Delegation were going to adopt in the Round Table Conference and what specific views they were going to express. I was also diffident in making any statement, due to another fact as well, namely that if on behalf of anybody, none of whom had specifically expressed their opinion to me, I make any commitments I shall have to consider whether those commitments will be able to be fulfilled according to the requirements of the Treaty obligations entered into individually between the Indian States and the British Crown, and in consonance with those obligations whether we shall be able to discharge our requisite activities towards the Federation. I at first wanted that we should settle between ourselves the objective that we wanted to achieve. Any Constitution whatever it may be is after all a means to an end and it is better and safer to have the measurements of the person who wants to wear a coat than to get a readymade coat and try to find out whom it will fit. However, fortunately, for me and all the Indian States, we were very pleased to find that the British Indian Leaders fully realised our difficulties arising from our peculiar position and they themselves admitted that the Constitutions, as are working in other countries, will have to be considerably modified if they are to be applied to India. It is true that, when statements were made on behalf of the States, people were surprised at the

sacrifice which the States Representatives were prepared to make on behalf of the States. Some of our noble Brothers even gave assurances of the greatest magnitude when they said that we were Indians first and Indian Princes afterwards. Personally there did exist some doubts in my mind, because I felt that any Constitution devised for the Indian requirements should be such as would not only suit any particular religion or caste or any other section of society, but which would suit all concerned and which would not compromise the interests of any section of the Indian India or the British India. I was also assured by the British Indian Leaders, whom I had the pleasure and privilege to have met, that they held the same views with regard to ourselves. While I did not want our representatives to create any obstacles in the ways which were conducive to unity of our Motherland without ascertaining for themselves whether there were disadvantages involved, I also wanted that whole-hearted acceptance should be made when its advantages have been fully realised. To-day I have achieved my desire, my objective has been fulfilled. My whole and sole intention was that I ought to remind Their Highnesses that they should appreciate all the advantages and implications of any scheme of Constitution that is brought into force in India. Having done that they should make up their minds as to what safeguards and what guarantees and what reservations they want before they can join the Federation, the Confederation or the United States of India, whatever the Constitution may be. Their Highnesses with the assistance of the ablest lot of Princes, the members of the Standing Committee, have been acquainted with all the implications and the advantages of the scheme and I hope that by now, that is after the lapse of a year or two, the opinions of the Princes' Order must have and should be crystallised on the point. Realising this point I think the time has now come when we should make some statement so that the British Government and British India may know what we propose doing in future with regard to the Federation scheme. I have never had any intention that there should be any measure brought into play which would deter us in achieving our ideal and I therefore, in conclusion, commend this Resolution for Your Highnesses' gracious acceptance.

**His Highness the Chief Saheb of Sangli:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I rise to speak a few words in support of the resolution on Federation which is now before the House. The first part affirms that the States will join an All-India Federation on a certain assumption. What is the general position in which we find ourselves as regards the attitude that we should adopt towards an All-India Federation? All parties at the Indian Round Table Conference have accepted the basis that the Central Government of India would be a Federation of All-India, embracing both British India and the Indian States. This basis was accepted also by His Majesty's Government as a foundation of the political structure of the New India. His Majesty's present Government have also reaffirmed their belief in an All-India Federation, and according to them it offers the only hopeful solution of India's constitutional problem. They have not stopped there; on the other hand, they have pressed on with all possible despatch with the federal plan, determined that no difficulty shall be permitted to hold up their progress. They have set up the machinery of Committees to give close and intimate consideration to the specific problems which have emerged out of the work of the Round Table Conference. These Committees are entitled to our admiration for the expeditious manner in which they have been carrying out the work entrusted to them. Government

have thus been pursuing the federal plan unswervingly and doing their utmost to surmount the difficulties standing in the way of its realisation. Although the idea of federation has been attractive and has appealed strongly to all interests concerned, I would be the last person to underestimate the difficulties—the many difficulties—that stand in the way. But, as His Excellency the Viceroy has observed, it has been realised throughout that they must not be permitted to block the path towards the ideal of federation. In the words of the Prime Minister, “obstacles were made to be overcome”. There is, therefore, no reason why we should allow ourselves to be deterred by the differences of opinion which have yet to be composed or the difficulties which have yet to be solved. I feel sure that with further thought, discussion and determination we shall be able to reconcile our different interests and points of view and evolve a workable constitution. The great question before us is whether we do not feel ourselves equal to tell His Majesty's Government that we shall join an All-India Federation, of course, subject to necessary guarantees and safeguards. It is no secret that it is the participation of the States which has made a federation possible. In its absence it is doubtful whether British India alone can bear central authority. It is the patriotism and wisdom of the Princes which have made it possible for the Round Table Conference to build up a constitution and to put political weight upon it. In the words of the Prime Minister, that has been a great achievement of the Princes, for which both India and Great Britain are grateful to them. The common weal both of our own people and that of Greater India, of which we form a part, requires that we show ourselves to be possessed of courage and imagination at this juncture in the history of our country. This courage is equally demanded in the interests of the Empire. With the proverbial loyalty of the Princes and the States, and their past traditions and achievements, there can be no question that they shall fail their motherland and the Empire at this most critical stage of their relations. We recognise that any measure of federation must involve sacrifices for the States. But we also feel that we ought to prefer the welfare of the Empire and India as a whole to the individual claims of the interests we represent and that only in securing the larger welfare of the country can the welfare of the individual parts thereof be properly secured. I, therefore, hope that this House will express the readiness of the States to join an All-India Federation, of course, subject to necessary safeguards and guarantees.

I now come to the part of the resolution in respect of our desire to secure necessary safeguards and preserve our treaty rights, sovereignty, and internal independence, in the Federal Constitution. I hope we shall not be regarded as blind self-seekers, because we are actuated by a desire to safeguard our rights and privileges. Our treaty rights and internal autonomy are of the most vital importance to ourselves, our Governments and our subjects. We have a sacred trust to discharge in respect of these, and we shall not be doing our duty to our States and their subjects, if we allow these rights to be threatened in any way. It is our duty to secure the fullest opportunity of self-realisation to our people, and we shall not be able to do this unless we guard our rights of sovereignty with meticulous care. It is only when our States have all the freedom of development to which they are entitled under their treaties, that they will be able to serve the wider interests of their motherland and also of the Empire. This is why we desire to secure the rights and privilege of our States

against any encroachment. I cannot conceive that local patriotism of the States must needs be incompatible with a co-existing national patriotism. It would be doing a great disservice to the States not to allow them to manage their affairs in accordance with the genius and instinct of the people.

Confining myself to the smaller States, I can say that they have not stood still. They have shown stirrings of new life, they have responded to wholesome repurcussions of constitutional changes in British India and they have already achieved considerable progress. But they are anxious that they should be free to develop themselves on their own lines and that is why we desire to secure the safeguards and guarantees referred to in the resolution. It is the Crown which alone has the power to provide the requisite guarantees and we are prepared to join an All-India Federation on the assumption that the Crown will secure to us the guarantees, safeguards, etc., that we want. With a view to secure these safeguards and guarantees, it is necessary that we should authorize our representatives further to carry on the necessary negotiations. Your Highnesses will remember that the Chamber gave such authority on a resolution which I had the honour to move, and I feel sure that Your Highnesses will agree that we are completely justified, by our experience of the use made of that authority, in entrusting our further negotiations to our representatives. The Chamber will have an opportunity finally to ratify the result of the negotiations; so will each individual State. We shall not be called upon to join the Federation before we are satisfied with the complete picture. We, therefore, run no risk, and I therefore hope that the Chamber will pass the resolution unanimously.

With these words I support the resolution.

**The Ruling Chief of Surguja:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I deem it a great privilege to be associated with this Resolution which will go down to history as a great and wise declaration of the Princes of India by its acceptance of the scheme of an All-India Federation in its broad outlines. I happened to be in London a few months ago when the Round Table Conference was in session, and, though not a Member of the States Delegation, I had the opportunity of attending its informal meetings as also a few sittings of the Federal Structure Committee as a visitor. I was a witness of the noble and strenuous efforts made by our Delegation at the Conference to secure for the Indian States an honourable place in the future constitution of India. I felt convinced that the Indian States had a great and distinguished part to play in the shaping of the future history of our country. It was therefore with deep concern that I heard rumours of differences among the rulers on certain vital points. The present Resolution will dispel all doubts and misgivings and proclaim to the world that the Princes of India stand united to-day in a historical endeavour calculated to secure enduring peace and the well being of their Motherland. Details have yet to be worked out, especially regarding our cherished rights and privileges, but I have no doubt that all our leaders and spokesmen will carry on further negotiations to that end with complete success. Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, the hopes and fears of the smaller States are the same as the hopes and fears entertained by the larger States in regard to the future constitution of India, and permit me to express the hope, before I resume my seat, that the completed scheme of an All-India Federation in all its details will prove as attractive to the smaller as to the larger units of Indian India.

**The Raja of Korea:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; Now that the scheme of an All-India Federation is being examined in its details, and its various implications are being studied closely and carefully, we naturally feel very anxious when reflecting upon the different problems that we will have to tackle before the scheme assumes its finished and definite form. From the speeches of the preceding speakers it is very gratifying to note that, in spite of the numerous complexities and difficulties which naturally have to be gone over very carefully in the interests of all concerned, the progress that we have been able to make is, on the whole not unsatisfactory. As His Highness of Alwar said, the political conditions existing in India are so heterogeneous, and the cultural, racial, religious and economic disparities are so prominent, that it is hardly a matter for surprise that our progress and advance towards the realisation of this scheme has not been very rapid. The work done at the Round Table Conference, and the work that is being done, at the sessions of the Consultative Committee, have not been wasted. On the contrary, I think it is providing a useful basis for the filling in of the details, and the elucidation of the obscure points in the scheme. The crucial elements in this scheme of an All-India Federation have sooner or later to be grappled with, and the prospect of our meeting with impediments, shall I say temporary impediments, should not discourage us. If wisdom and goodwill are brought to bear on the different problems, if an earnest endeavour is made to reconcile different standpoints, if an honest effort is made to appreciate each other's view points, I do not see why we should fail. Generally when such an attempt is made, these impediments cease to baffle, and, if I may say so, pave the way for enduring harmony. I do not see why our efforts should not meet with a similar success. On the contrary I think they will meet with success, and before long the elements of discord that divide us or stand in the way of our progress, will vanish, and we will be enabled to march triumphantly towards this cherished goal of an All-India Federation under the auspices of the Crown and within the British Commonwealth. It is this Constitution which I think will knit all the fragments of India into a solid mass and will provide a bulwark for the Empire. It will be this form of Government which will bring British India and Indian States together and will also be the solvent of the peculiar and unparalleled problems of this country. It is quite natural for us all, when we are on the verge of a change, when we are embarking on this new constitutional venture, to have some apprehensions and misgivings. But when we reflect, when we remember the traditional solicitude of His Majesty's Government and their repeated pledges and promises to uphold our rights and our legitimate privileges, I do not see that there is any reason for alarm. We can very safely rely on them to draft a constitution which will embody provisions to ensure our sovereignty, our internal independence and our rights and privileges. With the assurance that we had from Your Excellency yesterday, I think there is no genuine cause for anxiety, and we might reasonably expect that the draft bill will contain principles which will aim at harmonising to the highest degree the contending claims of all the interests and will also contain provisions for the satisfaction of all reasonable aspirations and the sustenance of all legitimate rights. Besides, we also know that the draft bill will be before us before it is sent to the Parliament, and it will be open to us to examine its details and make up our minds before we give our acceptance. In view of these considerations I think there is no reason whatsoever why we

should cry a halt. Speaking for the smaller States, for the so-called Lesser States as they are designated, I may say that they have the fullest confidence in Your Excellency's guardianship, and they confidently hope that the constitution which will be evolved will provide means whereby their rights and privileges will also be respected and safeguarded, and further that the basis on which the question of representation will rest will be decided in an equitable manner and will embody proportions befitting their requirements. Coming as I do last, or perhaps practically last, in the list of speakers and after the debate has proceeded so long, I do not know whether I will be entitled to take up much time of the house and exhaust Your Excellency's and Their Highnesses, patience, and I therefore do not propose to extend my speech any further. After the able speech of His Highness the Chancellor and the speeches of the other Highnesses who followed him, in which the position of the States has been very elaborately surveyed and the importance of their treaty rights and their time honoured privileges have been very emphatically stressed and after hearing those considerations that have been urged to allay all anxiety in our minds, I do not think there is much that I may add. Before I close I think I can feel sure that this House will stand firm in its desire to accept the principle of an All-India Federation on the assumption that satisfactory safeguards will be incorporated in the constitution which will ensure their sovereignty, their internal independence and the maintenance of their rights and privileges. With these words I beg to associate myself with the Resolution.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner:** I really do not think that there is any necessity for me to speak on this subject after the very lucid and able exposition of the States' view point by His Highness the Chancellor and what has been said subsequently in the course of this debate. Moreover His Highness of Bhopal and I, both before his election as Chancellor and after that, have worked in the closest co-operation, and I think I can honestly say that occasions when we had even the slightest difference of opinion have been of the rarest occurrence. My views on the subject, I hope, are too well known for me to reiterate them to-day. Only the other day in welcoming the Chairman and the Members of the Indian States Enquiry Committee to my State at a banquet, I referred to these matters at considerable length, to which I would beg to invite attention. But orders are orders, and His Highness the Chancellor has insisted that I should attempt to wind up the debate. Happily there is nothing to reply to as I am not aware of any dissentient voice having been raised on this very important Resolution which is before us. I think Your Excellency and my brother Princes will agree that this is not the time for going into details, into which we shall have further opportunities of going into and of saying what we have to say when the final scheme is before us. But may I first and foremost give expression to the liveliest gratification which I derive from the unity which has been so clearly manifest to-day, and for bringing about which the thanks of the States and the Princes are largely due to my friend and successor in the Chancellorship and my brother, His Highness of Patiala. I will not go into the essential questions on which the Princes' attitude depends,—treaties, safeguards, representation and such details—but as there appears to be some apprehension in the minds of the Princes, and some of them have asked me this question frequently, may I be permitted just to point out that there is nothing settled as regards what percentage of

the population of the States entering will be deemed sufficient for the acceptance of a scheme of federation. I invite attention to what I and Sir Samuel Hoare said with regard to a proposal that only 51 per cent. of the population of the States entering should be deemed sufficient. There is no such settlement, and I personally have expressed my disagreement with that view, because if you are going to have federation of the States, which I am happy to feel is being brought very much closer, we must really have a majority of the States entering.

Sir, with paramountcy well on its way—thanks to the great part which Your Excellency has played—to a reasonable and equitable settlement, the task of the Princes entering the federation has in itself by that important point alone been greatly facilitated. As is natural in the case of people who have not intimate acquaintance with the problems and the details which have been engaging the minds of the Indian States Delegation and have been before the first Round Table Conference, I can well imagine that there are anxieties and apprehensions. Federation, however, is a subject which really first came before the Princes in a more or less concrete form in 1917, and I think to-day's declaration by the Chamber and the Resolution now before us clarify the air, as it is made subject to safeguards which all important communities are reasonably entitled to ask for. We hear of conservatism, but like people situated in the position of the Princes all the world over, I doubt if the most advanced amongst us in regard to political or other views can really be anything but conservative, which is borne out by the caution and care and time devoted to this very question for the last several months, if not years. Sir, if to-day's declaration and the Resolution which I hope will now be passed in the course of the next minute, helps our Motherland to get back peace and order, our labours will not have been in vain and if to-day's Resolution, as we fondly hope and believe, will add to the glory of our King Emperor and to the strength of the Empire, we shall be feeling that we have made some contribution towards those goals which are nearest our heart.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** Your Highnesses have heard this Resolution proposed, seconded and supported. Is it your pleasure that this Resolution be passed?

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

May I say that it is a very great pleasure to me to find a unanimous vote on this matter.

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**Agendum No. 7.**

*Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala that the Membership of the Standing Committee be raised to nine, the quorum being five, and that the election and other provisions relating to Substitute Members may be deleted.*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, The resolution which I have been charged to move, after informal

exchange of views amongst some of my Brother Princes, would read as follows :—

“This Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that Part I of the First Regulations of the Chamber of Princes be amended in such a manner as to—

- (a) raise the number of the members of the Standing Committee to nine permanently, including the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor, quorum still remaining five; and to eleven until the important work in connection with the Round Table Conference lasts;
- and (b) delete the provisions relating to election, etc., of the substitute members;

and that His Excellency the Viceroy be pleased to approve of and give effect to this change before the elections are held during this Chamber Sessions”.

Your Excellency, before deciding to move this resolution, we have given most anxious consideration to the arguments for and against this proposal and to the remarks relevant to this question made in Your Excellency's opening address to the Chamber. Any suggestion from the President of this Chamber, and more particularly from one of Your Excellency's tried sympathies and friendship, deserves the greatest possible respect and consideration from us; and we feel sure that we can depend on Your Excellency's accommodating appreciation of our view-point evolved in the light of experience gained and the exigencies of the situation.

Your Excellency had been pleased to suggest in your opening address that we might “give the present condition a little more time to be tested before making the changes that are proposed”. We would have unhesitatingly been similarly inclined if, as Your Excellency “had been given to understand” the system of “having substitute members for the Standing Committee was only initiated *a year ago*”. But the system of substitute members was *in fact* introduced, immediately after this Chamber accepted His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir's Resolution in February 1928; so that we have had the experience of this system for over four years. Moreover, it has been re-assuring to hear Your Excellency's remark that you were “not prepared to say that nine is an excessive number”. As such, we feel confident that Your Excellency will, in the light of the discussion here based on our four years' experience of the present system, be pleased to give this proposal your blessing and immediate effect should it be adopted by the Chamber.

As explained in the text of my Resolution, the actual permanent increase proposed in the Standing Committee is from 7 to 9; the number of 11 proposed is exceptional till the time the more important work in connection with the Round Table Conference lasts. This is so in view of the very important questions, which are likely to be dealt with by the Standing Committee, as representative of the Chamber in the near future. We could have got these two additional members added to the Standing Committee under its power of co-option, but in view of the fundamental importance of the vital questions coming up, it was felt that it would be fair and desirable to get these two additional members also by the suffrage of the Chamber and directly responsible to it, rather than bring them indirectly through the support of the Standing Committee. The direct election of these additional members of the Standing Committee would

ensure an independent expression of their views, and will give opportunities to all shades of opinion within the Chamber to be adequately expressed in the Standing Committee over the vital issues coming before it. Moreover, the original discussions preceding the Draft of the Chamber Constitution show, as many of Your Highnesses will remember, that the right of co-option was intended to be met in those special cases in which any particular Prince, not member of the Standing Committee, had any special view-point to advance for which his presence in the Standing Committee would be helpful.

Your Excellency, the main reasons prompting my Resolution of to-day may be summed up as follows:—

- (1) The work of the Standing Committee has grown so important, even recently, that it cannot properly be disposed of without continuity of interest and full knowledge of the history and pros and cons of the questions involved. The presence of the substitute members gives us the quorum required, but with due deference to the substitute members and in spite of the valuable contribution of some of them, it means their sharing the decision of the questions about which they have not studied or attended the full course of discussion. The mere supplying of proceedings and papers to all substitute members even, for those meetings which they were not attending would not help matters in so far as that would not give them the benefit of listening and contributing to the detailed, free and frank discussions at the formal and informal meetings, which precede the disposal of these questions. It has been proposed that the substitute members may be invited to all meetings of the Standing Committee to watch the proceedings but not to speak or vote. I am sure that the mere statement of the position is enough to condemn it, and that no responsible Ruler could recommend that their Brother Princes who have important and responsible work to discharge within their States may be invited merely to sit in the Standing Committee, nor *prima facie* it seems likely that any Prince would condescend to accept this position.
- (2) The substitute members, not knowing whether they will ever be called to attend the meetings of the Standing Committee, naturally do not keep themselves posted with the Standing Committee questions and other connected matters, as they would do if they have the responsibility of the full-fledged members of the Committee.
- (3) The substitute members, from the very nature of the Constitution, can only be asked at the eleventh hour by any member of the Standing Committee dropping out, and the continuation of the system means deliberately sacrificing the quality and efficiency of the members to the desire of securing quorum.
- (4) There is a perceptible feeling amongst prominent and useful members of the Chamber of Princes not to condescend to be included amongst substitute members. This feeling, I beg to submit, seems natural because it brings invidious distinction in a House based on the equality of members.

(5) It is expected that before long there may be additions to the members of the Chamber of Princes as a result of the examination of the various claims of some of the States not full members of the Chamber of Princes at present. The increased number of the Standing Committee would facilitate better representation of all sections, and should be welcome to those who believe in a cautious enlargement of the Chamber of Princes.

(6) The only argument that can be quoted against the proposed increase is that the smaller number ordinarily ensures more expeditious disposal of business. This argument, however, loses a great deal of force considering that the Standing Committee is confined to *Rulers*, who from the very position which they hold are responsible enough to help constructive despatch of work and are not likely to be irresponsible. Moreover, it is obvious that two well-informed members of the Standing Committee in full possession of the papers and the history of the cases that come up for discussion, would be more helpful in efficient despatch of business than 2 substitute members called through S. O. S. messages at the eleventh hour. Besides, as Your Excellency has been pleased to remark in your Opening Address to the Chamber, the number proposed is not excessive.

In view of these considerations, I beg to move the resolution standing in my name for the acceptance of this House.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner:** Your Excellency, the hour is getting late, and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and I feel that, if Your Excellency will permit it, we shall, if necessary, reply to any opposition and arguments against this Resolution, but I hope I shall be permitted to sit down after merely observing that the proposal now before Your Excellency and the House is the result of four years' trial and the outcome of the difficulties which we need not go into, which we have experienced in the system of substitute members. It is both for the purpose of the good name of our Order and for better work and also for ensuring a large number of Princes giving representative views that this Resolution is, after the most careful and anxious consideration, placed before Your Excellency and the House for acceptance.

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I beg to support the proposal made by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and seconded by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. My reasons for doing so—and I wish to emphasise them—are that, during the next year or two, the Princes will be called upon to deal with such important and vital matters, that I think it is most necessary that our Standing Committee should be as representative as possible. With these remarks I support His Highness' Resolution.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; The remarks that I am going to make will, I hope, be taken in the friendly spirit in which they are made and not necessarily with a view to forming a direct opposition; but I think the object of this Chamber is that every one should be entitled to speak out his own mind and what he feels on these important subjects that come up before the Chamber. Unfortunately, much of the sting and the interest disappears from these

debates, because many of these questions are practically hammered out *ad infinitum*—almost *ad nauseam*—in our informal meetings, and then the formal resolutions come up here for being moved and then being supported by other Princes. After this galaxy of eloquence on behalf of the Ex-Chancellor, supported by the Ex-Ex-Chancellor and further supported by, what to us is a misfortune, the outgoing Chancellor, I feel that I ought to be at least somewhat diffident in saying what I desire to speak before you. But my object in doing so is that, Your Highnesses, in spite of the fact that you may have discussed this question in the informal meetings or elsewhere (and the proper term to use in a formal gathering is not to refer to informal meetings, but in Parliamentary language to say discussions that had taken place in another house). I do not understand at what juncture and at what place this careful discussion took place when the number, originally proposed in the Resolution that came before us in another place as being fixed at 9, about which even His Excellency made a reference in his inaugural address, has been, even if it be until the Federation question is completed, raised to 11. This question was down in the agenda for discussion in that other place. However, invidious that word may sound, but, nevertheless, as a matter of fact, within my knowledge and to the best of my ability, when I was present, except when I was told by the Chancellor that no further discussion would take place on this subject, (I did on one or two occasions leave the House) in our informal meetings, as it was advertised in the agenda, this subject was not discussed by all the Princes and, therefore, it is to me somewhat of a surprise that it should have come up at this moment not only about 9, namely, the addition of two members to the Standing Committee, but the addition of 4 members to the Standing Committee. I am not opposing it, because I have no objection to 2 or 4 Princes coming into the Standing Committee. In fact, I do really believe that, if I wanted to gain popularity, I could suggest an amendment for the Standing Committee to be enlarged to the number of 15, and I am almost certain that it will be carried in this Chamber; but my proposition is a pure and simple business. Whether a Committee of 7, or whether a Committee of 9, or whether one of 11 is going to deal expeditiously with the matters that come before it,—before whom?—before those who are elected by Your Highnesses—to do what?—to do the drudgery in your interests in order that the final question may come up before Your Highnesses for decision. The Standing Committee does not decide on its own account things that are given to it by the Chamber. The Standing Committee reports and any of Your Highnesses who have elected your own nominees to the Standing Committee are at full liberty to alter, modify, or change, when the Resolutions come up, all the suggestions or any of the suggestions that come up from the Standing Committee. Personally, I have been consistent, for from the very time when the first idea was moved and mooted of having a Conference, it was proposed, and it was accepted that the Codification in those days—the Codification Committee as it was called in those days—should consist of 5 members, but it was when the Chamber was being formed that the Committee was raised to 7. Personally I am of opinion that, so long as the Committee does not go off at a tangent and do things on its own and submit its proposals for the approval of the Chamber which it has become accustomed to discuss in the informal meetings and later in the formal meetings, it is only a Committee that works up the details of the important propositions which are placed before the Chamber, and the only reason

that I maintain is that the number 9 or 11 will become unwieldy. I am not going to say anything about the inner workings of even the Committee of 7, but nevertheless a Committee of 11 will, I feel perfectly certain, delay business and hamper the expeditious despatch of work. Being myself personally a believer in small committees, provided they have a bigger House to report to, the smaller it is the better. In fact I personally believe best in a Committee of one, but His Highness the Jam Maharaj who, I understand, may be the prospective Chancellor, himself told me that he was against this increase of numbers and he authorised me to say, on his behalf, that he was against this increase for the pure and simple reason that it would mean delays.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner:** Can we, Sir, express the views of an absent Ruler?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** Authorised.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I think it is rather undesirable to express the opinion of another Prince unless that Prince is here.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** I only did so, Your Excellency, because I was told.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala:** Should the absent Ruler write or inform President or another brother Prince?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** This reminds me of a situation that arose in England when the Round Table Conference started to form a Federal Structure Committee and we had a very plausible Chairman, and when the original Committee was fixed at something like 20 or more—just a little more—representations came in from all quarters until finally a Committee of something like 20 or 25 members increased to something like 40 to 45 with the result—I am speaking from memory I do not remember the exact figures—that the Federal Structure Committee made out of the plenary session increased to such an extent that eventually there were about 8 or 9 members left on the plenary session who were not on the Federal Structure Committee, and the question was whether the rest also should not be taken into it. His Excellency in his inaugural address has, for the same reason, stated his objection on two points. One was that the Committee should not be too large and become unwieldy.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I must ask His Highness not to emphasise the position of the Viceroy, the President of the Chamber, in this matter, but if he will remember, and I think Your Highnesses also ought to remember, the last remark made on this matter was that I left it entirely for Your Highnesses and the Chamber to decide.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** I would have come to that, Your Excellency, after making a statement, but if I am wrong I accept the ruling of the Chair. I know that it will gain the popularity of the House to increase the numbers of the Standing Committee. I even believe myself that, if there was no chance of my coming into the Standing Committee as a Member, No. 1, 2 or 3, now I may have the last chance of coming as Member No. 9, 10 or 11. So personally speaking, I am not very much concerned with it, but here I am speaking to Your Highnesses purely and simply on a question of principle for the expedition of business. So far as the representation is concerned, this question has been before us ever

since the original Codification Committee was formed and the subsequent Standing Committee was formed. If the representation was really to be real, then you might have it provincial, then you might have it for representative members although it is not in the Constitution, then you might have it on various other grounds and you may thus enlarge your Committee to a much larger extent still. I personally was never in favour of even substitute members, but I have been told that the substitute members do not like that designation. Well, if that designation was unsuitable, it could have been altered, but, for the time being, I believe it would have been better to have even a larger Committee as we have now consisting of 7 to go through the business expeditiously and for that business to come up before the Chamber for decision. In this connection I would also like to state one other point that, when the Codification Committee was formed, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner became the Honorary General Secretary. Afterwards, when the Chamber constitution was being formed, it was considered that that designation was not sufficiently dignified for the position of a Ruling Prince and therefore suggestions were invited and it was His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda who wrote in a letter suggesting that the position of the General Secretary should be designated as that of Chancellor. It did not alter the position, it did not change his position *vis-a-vis* the Standing Committee. He was given another designation which I myself moved on the recommendation of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda and which recommendation was finally adopted. Now, in order to make it very clear I should like to emphasise that the position of the Chancellor from those days has become different, because while he was General Secretary of the Standing Committee then, he now presides over the Standing Committee. He has practically become the liaison officer between the Committee and the Government of India and thus it has given him quite a different position from that which was originally intended as an Honorary General Secretary, for I cannot understand how an Honorary General Secretary can preside over his own Committee and be the liaison officer. Now, in making these statements, I feel perfectly certain that the last two persons who can take offence at my statement are first, my friend His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, as I have already said unfortunately the outgoing Chancellor, because our relations have been very cordial and I think His Highness understands my points of view even when we agree to differ, and the very fact that I shall have the pleasure of moving a Resolution tomorrow passing a vote of thanks to His Highness the Chancellor will in itself do away with any possible chance of misconception of the idea that I have any or the least desire to attack His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal personally, but I am dealing purely with a constitutional question in the same way. The second person who, I think, will understand me most and misunderstand me least is what I have heard is going to be the prospective new Chancellor, namely, His Highness the Jam Maharaj; for, in this world, if I may touch for one moment on a personal aspect of the case, I possess fewer, dearer and kinder friends than I have in His Highness. So I am perfectly certain that he will not misunderstand what I say, but it is essential that there should be a clear understanding in the future as to what the position of the Chancellor is, whether he is still the Honorary General Secretary of the Standing Committee with a more glorified name or whether he is to be regarded as the Chairman of the Standing Committee and the liaison officer definitely between the Government of India and the Standing Committee and the Chamber of Princes. That is my second proposition. My third proposition in the same statement which

I move with the leave of the Chair which I have obtained is that, in order to give His Highness the Chancellor the proper position and to recognise that proper position instead of its growing by practice into something different from what it was originally, we should accept the position of the Chancellor to be the Chairman of the Standing Committee and then automatically as the liaison officer between the Standing Committee and the Government of India provided the Standing Committee authorises him on specific points to deal with the Government of India or the Viceroy on those subjects. It is on this proposition that I wish to speak and where I have taken leave of the Chair to speak that, if the position of the Chancellor is made definitely and recognised in future as the Chairman of the Standing Committee and not as Honorary General Secretary, then I have third suggestion to make which, for the third time I wish to state and on which I have taken leave of the Chair to move at this time, is that the Chancellor may have an opportunity of selecting his own Standing Committee. This question was also on the agenda of the informal meeting, but unfortunately we have not had time to discuss it.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I do not want to interrupt Your Highness, but I do not quite understand what the position is. Your Highness says that I gave you permission to move a particular resolution as an amendment to this Resolution. Is that the position?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** When I discussed this question that I wanted to move the question of the Chancellor electing his Standing Committee, Your Excellency told me that I could move it when this Resolution came up.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I am afraid I must have been under a misconception that you are going to move an amendment on this Resolution. This is I think completely out of order. It is an entirely different subject. The question before the Chamber is purely whether the number of this particular Committee should be increased, and I cannot recollect if I gave an indication to Your Highness that I was going to permit you to move an amendment on this particular Resolution and I do not see how it could possibly be done.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** I submit to the ruling of the Chair. I thought I understood it and perhaps I may have misunderstood it, but I moved it as I thought I understood that I got leave of the Chair to move it on this occasion. I will not now deal with the subject.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I regret it extremely if I gave that indication.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** Then I have nothing more to say except to state that the main reason which I have already stated with regard to the additional numbers is not on any personal ground, but merely because I do believe, and I firmly believe, that it will hamper the expeditious work of the Standing Committee and the addition of these members will not in any way facilitate the business which will come up before the Chamber for its final decision.

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I wish to reply only to that portion of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's remarks which concern me as Chancellor and which concern the procedure that has been adopted. I beg to assure His Highness that

I do not for one moment attach any personal motive, if I may use the term, to his references to me, nor do I take them as in any way being personal. I think there is nothing personal about them. With these remarks I wish to point out, with the President's permission, that, as far as I read the rules, it is not necessary to discuss a question amongst ourselves before it comes before this house. Your Highness, the proposer altered the procedure with the knowledge of the President, but Your Highness also knows that he left the whole matter to be decided by this house, and the proposer had every right to do so. Previous discussions with the Princes are not necessary but at the same time previous discussion amongst a few of us or amongst a few Princes are not debarred by our rules. Any member who wishes to oppose a proposal can certainly do so on the floor of this house, but that does not mean that any of us who may choose to do so should not discuss the question amongst ourselves before it has been brought before this house. These are my replies to Your Highness' references.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** You have heard the resolution proposed, seconded and supported, and Your Highnesses have also heard the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar. Is it your pleasure that the resolution be passed.

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

This concluded the proceedings of the day.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH DAY.

The 2nd April 1932.

The Chamber of Princes assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House, at 11 A.M. on Saturday, the 2nd April 1932. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present:—

## Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.	His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.	His Highness the Raja of Sailana.
The Raja of Khilchipur.	The Raja of Sarila.
His Highness the Raja of Narsingarh.	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

## Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

## Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.	His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.	His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.	His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.
His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur.	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

## Madras States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

## Punjab States.

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.	The Nawab of Loharu.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.	His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.
	His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

## Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	The Thakor Sahib of Palitana.
His Highness the Maharaja Raj Sahib of Dhrangadhra.	His Highness the Raj Sahib of Wankaner.
The Chief of Jasdan.	

## Bengal.

His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura.

## Bombay.

His Highness the Nawab of Cambay.	His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla.
The Chief of Jamkhandi.	The Nawab of Sachin.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.	His Highness the Chief of Sangli.
The Chief of Phaltan.	His Highness the Sardesai of Savantwadi.

## Bihar and Orissa.

The Raja of Dhenkanal.	The Raja of Talcher.
The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.	

## Central Provinces.

The Raja of Koregaon.	The Ruling Chief of Surguja.
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## Punjab.

The Raja of Baghat.	The Raja of Kalsia.
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## United Provinces.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.	His Highness the Raja of Tehri Garhwal.
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**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; With regard to yesterday's discussion I wish to make a personal explanation about two or three points. I am very grateful to Your Excellency for having given me the opportunity to do so because I should like, above all things, any misunderstandings to disappear. I realise the fact that yesterday happened to be the 1st April, and therefore it is possible that there might have been practical jokes played by one on the other. But nevertheless I wish to refer, first of all, to the reference that I made in my speech regarding the Chancellor being permitted to select his own Standing Committee. Now, as Your Highnesses all know, if I had intended to put it forward in the form of a resolution, I would have moved it as such long ago when I discussed it with some of my brother Princes who were in favour of the scheme. But I really wanted to have a discussion, and, if possible, a debate on this subject, and, therefore, when I wrote and asked Your Excellency if I may discuss this question with you personally, Your Excellency was pleased to say—I do not lay too much emphasis on this, and if I am out of order I may be ruled out—that I might bring it forward in the discussion in connection with the enlargement of the Standing Committee.

Similarly, this question was on the Agenda of the informal meeting, but it was postponed from day to day until on the last day I discovered that some more subjects were going to be discussed. I asked His Highness the Chancellor whether this question would come up for discussion, and His Highness informed me that there was no more time. Please believe me I do not wish to attack His Highness in any manner whatsoever, but His Highness did tell me at that time that I could bring it up in my discussion in connection with the enlargement of the Committee. So I had, so to speak, a double mandate, not to move a resolution on the subject, but to put it forward as a subject for discussion and ventilation amongst the members. I quite realise, and I realised then, that it was out of order from the point of view that it did not relate to the actual subject, but I only wish to explain that that was the reason why it ever came on my lips to-day when this question of the enlargement of the Committee was on the anvil.

With regard to my reference to Your Excellency's speech which I quoted, saying that you are in favour, that Your Excellency thought that too big a Committee would be unwieldy, I was going to say further that Your Excellency had also said that you did not like too many changes coming too quickly in regard to the constitution and amendments to the constitution. But at the end of that I was going to say very explicitly what Your Excellency said, that you are leaving the matter to the Chamber to decide as it pleased. So far as the reference to the Viceroy's speech is concerned, whether in the inaugural address or otherwise—they are frequently quoted and mentioned in the debate—above all things what else is it in the end, when the Princes will make a reply to Your Excellency's speech and will be quoting or answering most of the portions of Your Excellency's inaugural address. Hundreds of instances I can quote where the Viceroy's utterances have been quoted in debate, and therefore I hope, with all respect I say this, that I was not constitutionally out of order in referring to Your Excellency's utterances.

Then, there is a third question regarding the position of the Chancellor. I intended to enlarge upon that: I have already stated many of my arguments as to whether the future position of the Chancellor should be what

it is under the present constitution of no more than that of an honorary secretary or whether it should be that of the President of the Standing Committee, or the liaison officer between the Committee or the Chamber and the Government of India. On that question I should like still to ask, unless Your Excellency wishes it otherwise, that a ruling may be given for the future. If Your Excellency likes, I can postpone the question and put it in a more formal way next time whether the position of the Chancellor should be that which is constitutionally put down as that of an honorary general secretary under the glorified title of Chancellor or whether it should be that of the Chairman of the Committee and a liaison officer.

I have already stated yesterday that I did not think any personal motives could be ascribed to me on that point because His Highness our good Chancellor at the present moment, alas! only for a few more minutes, has for some reasons of his own decided to withdraw himself from that position which he has so wonderfully and splendidly occupied during the last year: nor could motives be ascribed, least of all, to the new prospective Chancellor, under the canvassing system, His Highness the Jam Sahib. I have stated it yesterday, and I do not wish to repeat it now.

But I think it is necessary that we should be clear in our minds what the position should be during the year. But here, if Your Excellency should wish that this question should not be mooted officially, I will be glad to withdraw it and to put it forward before the Chamber next year.

The fourth point that His Highness the Chancellor stated yesterday was of a somewhat important nature—that no rules bound us to discuss things informally and that we come and say what we like in the Chamber. Of course informal meetings of the Committee or the Standing Committee or the Chamber are not really recognised at all in this Chamber in any manner whatsoever. But when a definite agenda is made, subjects are discussed and we come forward to bring our points of view and everybody is legitimately in his right to oppose anything that came up, I think it will shatter the object of the informal meetings if certain subjects are not brought up before the Committee, or if they are brought up before the Committee, they are not brought up before the informal meeting, and are decided by a certain number of princes privately and brought up before the Chamber as a surprise and are then proposed and voted for.

So far as our meetings outside this house are concerned I know advantage is taken sometimes of learning each other's opinions which can be refuted in the Chamber officially. I know of one case: His Highness of Patiala quoted one of my own opinions which I unfortunately cannot quote to-day because the proceedings of yesterday's meeting are not before the Chamber to-day, I believe due to the Factory Act having come into operation last night under which the press and other institutions have to close at a certain hour.

The last reference I have to make is with regard to the reference I made to His Highness the Jam Sahib's opinion. I try to be constitutional and I have tried to study the rules. I know of no rules that prevent any one from quoting the opinion of another Prince in the Chamber, I never attempted to ask that His Highness the Jam Sahib's views which I expressed were to count as a vote when the voting took place. This is the personal explanation I wanted to make, Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, before this Chamber about yesterday's proceedings. I sincerely hope that Your Highnesses will not accuse me of

want of friendship or want of courtesy. In bringing up this question I wanted to clear my position, and in doing so I assure you that friendship and personal contacts are not such things, or ought not to be such things, that could possibly be guided by official debates in this Chamber when we may happen to have a different point of view. Therefore the one question which is now really for consideration before the Chair is, first of all, what should be the position of the Chancellor. If His Excellency the President wishes, as I have already stated, I would gladly withdraw the subject until the next year. The second question refers to informal meetings and to the Chancellor selecting his own committee, which could come up in the form of a resolution which, I think, if necessary, can be moved next year.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: I crave the indulgence of this House to make a personal statement. His Highness the Chancellor and His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner very graciously referred to me in their speeches yesterday, in very kind terms for my humble contribution in bringing about unity amongst our Order at this juncture. I am grateful to them for this kindness, but I owe it to this House to declare, as I have already stated elsewhere, that the credit for bringing about this much desired Unity, on the fundamental essentials involved, goes primarily to Their Highnesses of Bhopal and Bikaner, and I think they are entitled to the gratitude of this House as well as of the best friends of India and the Empire. Whatever may have seemed as my contribution towards this happy consummation, in reality belongs to my esteemed colleagues Their Highnesses of Dholpur, Panna and others and I wish publicly to record my obligations to them for having paved the way for the Unity which we all applaud. I pray that the important and delicate negotiations to follow may help to further cement this Unity in the Princes' Order in the interests alike of India and England.

#### Agendum No. 8.

##### *Elections.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** The next business before Your Highnesses is the election of a Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor and members of the Standing Committee. I think probably it would suit your convenience if I ask the Secretary, Sir Charles Watson, to give you general information as to the procedure in order to avoid any inconvenience and make it perfectly clear to any new members of your Princes' Chamber.

**The Hon'ble Sir Charles Watson:** Your Highnesses, The voting papers will be distributed to all the Members and representative Members of the Chamber for the office of the Chancellor. Only members of the Chamber in their own right are eligible. Only one name should be written on the voting paper and the papers should not be soiled. The box in which the papers will be put when the name has been entered will be placed on this table.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I am to inform Your Highnesses that His Highness of Bhopal, His Highness of Kashmir, His Highness of Bikaner, His Highness of Patiala and His Highness of Dholpur are not standing for election as Chancellor.

(The election was then conducted.)

**The Hon'ble Sir Charles Watson:** The result of the election for the Chancellor is as follows:—

His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanshahar . . . . .	36 votes.
His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar . . . . .	2 "
His Highness the Maharao of Cutch . . . . .	1 vote.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur . . . . .	1 , ,

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** The next business, Your Highnesses, is to elect the Pro-Chancellor. I should like to inform you that His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and His Highness of Dholpur are not standing for election for Pro-Chancellor.

**The Hon'ble Sir Charles Watson:** Your Highnesses, the procedure in regard to the election of the Pro-Chancellor is exactly the same as that for the election of the Chancellor.

(The election was then conducted.)

**The Hon'ble Sir Charles Watson:** The results of the voting for the Pro-Chancellor are as follows:—

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch . . . . .	30 votes.
His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur . . . . .	3 "
His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar . . . . .	3 "
His Highness the Maharaja of Panna . . . . .	2 "
His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa . . . . .	2 , ,

His Highness the Maharaja Raj Saheb of Wankaner, and His Highness the Raja of Tehri (Garhwal) have got one vote each.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** Your Highnesses, your next business is to elect members of the Standing Committee. I should like to inform you that His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir and His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala have both told me that they are not standing for election to the Standing Committee.

**The Hon'ble Sir Charles Watson:** Since the decision of Your Highnesses in the House yesterday, which has been accepted by the Viceroy, nine names will be placed on the voting paper, excluding the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor. Only Members of the Chamber of Princes in their full right are entitled to be elected as Members of the Standing Committee. Nine names will be placed on the voting paper and the voting papers should not be signed.

(The election was then conducted.)

**The Hon'ble Sir Charles Watson:** The following is the result of the elections for the Standing Committee:—

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur . . . . .	37 votes.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner . . . . .	35 , ,
His Highness the Maharaja of Panna . . . . .	35 , ,
His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal . . . . .	34 , ,
His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala . . . . .	34 , ,
His Highness the Chief of Sangli . . . . .	33 , ,
His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar . . . . .	30 , ,
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar . . . . .	29 , ,
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dungarpur . . . . .	25 , ,

The following votes were also recorded:—

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur . . . . .	12 votes.
His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla . . . . .	9 votes each.
His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa . . . . .	
His Highness the Maharajas of Porbander and Jaipur. . . . .	5 " "
His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur . . . . .	3 " "
The Nawab of Sachin . . . . .	
His Highness the Raj Sahib of Wankaner . . . . .	2 " "
His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer . . . . .	
His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura . . . . .	
His Highness the Nawab of Rampur . . . . .	
His Highness the Nawab of Cambay . . . . .	
His Highness the Sardesai of Sawantwadi . . . . .	
His Highness the Maharaja of Benares . . . . .	
His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore . . . . .	1 vote each.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala . . . . .	
His Highness the Raja of Narsingarh . . . . .	
His Highness the Raja of Suket . . . . .	
The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj . . . . .	
His Highness the Maharao of Kotah . . . . .	

#### Agendum No. 12.

*Resolution of thanks by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to His Highness the Chancellor.*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; The Resolution that I was going to move was a vote of thanks to the Chancellor, but I am afraid, now that the elections have taken place, the vote will have to be to the *ex-Chancellor*. Therefore with that amendment my Resolution runs as follows:

“That the Narendra Mandal places on record its deep sense of gratefulness for, and appreciation of, the work performed by our recent Chancellor, His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal. During his term of office His Highness devoted considerable labour and attention to the interests of Princes on questions of supreme importance such as federation, paramountcy and ceremonials, with very beneficial results”.

I shall have but little to add to the Resolution itself, which is comprehensive. Many a time in the past the Chancellor has had to fight gallant battles on behalf of the Standing Committee and the Chamber. But in this case I find that His Highness has been deprived of that opportunity, and there have been no battles fought on behalf of either institution, for we have as the Chairman of our Chamber one who has been so sympathetic that he has readily listened to our points of view with sympathy and interest. Nevertheless, with all due deference I say this, that I do not know of any Chancellor previous to him in whose time such momentous questions, not only regarding Indian States but of All-India importance, have come before him for consideration and solution, such as federation and paramountcy. I have been amazed almost astounded, at the manner in which His Highness has become a pastmaster in the art

of constitution-making. He has been able to remove many of our doubts on questions such as uni-cameral legislatures, bi-cameral legislatures, federation, confederation, and many other intricate questions involved. His Highness has also taken up wholeheartedly the question regarding paramountcy and ceremonials, particularly the former which I stated yesterday is one of the most important subjects that lie before His Excellency the Viceroy and us for a correct solution of them. His Highness has not spared his labours, his time or his energies in the interests of our Order, and I know that even at the sacrifice of health and his personal predilections, perhaps not wishing even to go to England, he has sacrificed many of his personal wishes for the sake of the Order which elected him as Chancellor.

I know it has been said sometimes that this house occupies much of its time in congratulations and condolences. However that may be, nevertheless in the case of His Highness the *ex-Chancellor*, as in the case of the previous congratulations which we have sent from our hearts, it is only right that we should place on record the services and the good work that His Highness has done for our Order. He has been very assiduous, he has been very businesslike, and I have only one complaint to make during his Chancellorship and that is that he has had an almost intolerable patience for dealing with questions that have come before him, when he has sat for hours listening to discussions and yet has been supremely calm and dispassionate in the end. I feel that I need say very little more, except that His Highness has been one of the best Chancellors that we have had, and it is a matter of deep concern to us that for reasons of his own he has declined to stand for the Chancellorship this year. We trust that His Highness, in the precincts of his home and in his State, will be refreshed and will be revived in order that later on he may take up, with the same vigour and energy, which no doubt he will still do in the Standing Committee, the work on behalf of his order and for the sake of the Empire. With these words. Your Excellency, I move the Resolution and the vote of thanks to His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, our recent Chancellor.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses: Last year, Your Highnesses may remember, some of us opposed His Highness the Ruler of Bhopal's Chancellorship. I was his rival. Some of my friends felt that I, having had experience of it, would do better as Chancellor, and I have no need to mention what we all feel to-day. He has been at the plough for one year. I feel confident that if his health had permitted his offering himself for Chancellorship to-day we would have welcomed him unanimously. Last year was one of unprecedented importance and called forth the most delicate handling and tact from those negotiating on behalf of the Indian States. In this great though grave task, His Highness the Chancellor has led the Princes' team with an ability, sweet reasonableness industry, sincerity and courage which at once command our respect and affection. In dealing with questions of paramountcy, ceremonials, etc.. Your Excellency has borne out the marvellous sense of constructive statesmanship, and courageous imagination shown by our gifted Chancellor. At the Federal structure committee in the Round Table Conference, his contribution has raised the Princes high in England and India. In our Standing Committee and

Informal Meetings, he has been a most courteous, though impartial disciplinarian, who has worked hard himself and has infected every one around with his sense of industry and devotion. In short his contribution during this year of his Chancellorship has been unparalleled, and his name will go down in history as one of the chief Architects of the new Constitution for India, which may develop to be the greatest achievement of our Times. It is unfortunate that his health does not permit his continuing as Chancellor. But, I pray that he may soon get completely fit and that this valuable sincere, amiable and inspiring asset may live long to serve and lead the Indian States and greater India, and that we may see him Chancellor again for a considerably longer period than his present term.

With these words, I support the resolution.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I wish to associate myself in a few words, a very few words, with the Resolution which has been proposed by His Highness of Alwar and seconded by His Highness of Patiala. Having had the pleasure and privilege of being a colleague of His Highness the Ruler of Bhopal on the Standing Committee, as well as at the Round Table Conference, I feel that I can speak with some personal knowledge. I can add my personal testimony to the solid and most important contribution which His Highness of Bhopal has made in the cause of our States.

With these few words I wish to associate myself wholeheartedly with the Resolution which is now before the House.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; May I be permitted to associate myself entirely with what has fallen from the speakers who have preceded me?

Speaking for myself without exaggeration, I can say that many a time I was filled with intense admiration for the remarkably efficient manner in which His Highness discharged his duty. The industry which he brought to bear upon the investigation of the problems which he was called upon to resolve was surprising. On every occasion I found him master of his subject. His frankness, his courage and his cool manner compelled respect while his earnestness and devotion to the discharge of his responsibilities were simply exemplary. He has wholeheartedly devoted himself to his duty as Chancellor during the year that he held office. He even sacrificed the interests of his State which naturally have the first claim on his attention. And that is I believe the chief reason why he found that in fairness to his State, he could not continue beyond the year to hold the office to which we called him by our vote last year.

I trust His Highness will permit me to say that he has placed us under a great debt of obligation which we shall always treat as a debt of honour, because we have no means of discharging it. For my part I shall always retain the liveliest recollection of the resource and the vigilance of which he has given proof during his tenure of office and I hope he will allow me to say that even though he lays down office, we rely upon him not to relax his efforts on our behalf, particularly in regard to certain vital questions which, by dint of unremitting industry, he has made peculiarly his own. I can say in all sincerity that His Highness of Bhopal is a shining example to his Brother Princes in his earnestness and devotion to duty, and as such an inspiration to us all.

On the eve of his retirement from office, my one wish for him is that his natural modesty may not prevent him from experiencing the profound satisfaction which is the reward of duty wholeheartedly performed without expectation of praise or thought of recognition.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner:** No Resolution in the course of this session, not even the Resolution which we passed yesterday about the Federation, has afforded me greater pleasure than this vote of thanks to His Highness the Chancellor who, according to the Constitution, continues to be the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes until the end of this session; for, as I said yesterday, whether or not I subscribe to all the views that have been brought forth in the debates during the session, I have had particularly the privilege of very close association with His Highness and perhaps therefore I am more than any other brother Prince present here or not present here, in a position to see for myself the amazing amount of solid, fine work that he has done and the manner in which he has discharged his high responsibilities. The office of Chancellor is not a little exalted, because, although a Chancellor is the servant of his brother Princes and of the States, he is above all the premier leader of the Princes so far as the Chamber is concerned. Onerous and exacting are his duties, and great his responsibilities. Some of us, who have been Chancellors in the past, his two predecessors—His Highness of Patiala and myself—can alone know the vast amount of work, apart from drudgery, which is involved and the power that is necessary for the Chancellor, not only as the mouthpiece of the Princes and the States, but as the custodian of their rights and interests. Blessed with ability, with brains and independence of character, untiring energy and great capacity for work, His Highness has carried on the finest traditions, established in the Chamber, of the Chancellor not as a seeker or hunter after cheap popularity but so as to do his best to make the most solid and the strongest contribution in the interests of the King Emperor and of his Order. His patience has been wonderful and so is the manner in which, despite many difficulties and worries which attach to his office and which have faced him, and if I may repeat a phrase His Highness has maintained in the finest manner the traditions built up by us of helping to bring dignified and as brief debates as possible as the order in this Chamber and to facilitate the disposal of business by a great deal of tact and to get through our discussions and where necessary to smooth over the difficulties and differences and composing differences at our informal meetings even though decisions on matters coming before the Chamber which we may pass at informal meetings may naturally have no binding force. The differences of the past 12 months, which nobody knows more than His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and myself, have been composed largely due to His Highness' tact and his openhearted manner of dealing with such matters with his brother Princes. We who have been Chancellors before him have some reason, I hope, we may say with modesty, to look back with pleasure to our terms of office and our attempts, however poor, to succeed as best as we could in the interests of our Order by thoroughness and attention to detail, but really, Sir, it is no language of exaggeration when I say that we are amazed at the wonderful work, the outturn of work and the importance of the work which His Highness has got through in the past 12 months. His Highness' term of office will be especially remembered with the deepest gratitude by the States in regard to Paramountcy and Ceremonials and the rights of the Princes and other matters

connected therewith and in regard to Federation. It has been a matter of gratification I am sure to all of us to hear the very generous words of His Highness of Patiala who has just said that but for the fact of His Highness' health which we are sorry to feel has been further impaired by the heavy work, but for his health, His Highness of Patiala and his friends—we are all now friends—would have welcomed His Highness' re-election as Chancellor. His being compelled on grounds of health not to stand this year is a matter of misfortune to us all at this critical juncture. I say nothing invidious in regard to the future successors of His Highness when I join with His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in expressing the hope that, in days to come, we may have the good fortune to have His Highness back as Chancellor and for a longer period.

May I be permitted to take this opportunity of tendering our congratulations to His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar who, from the time, even before the time the Chamber was started, and from the days when we were holding before it our annual Princes Conferences, is one, if I may respectfully say so, of the old Brigade who has shouldered the burdens and fought the battles of the States for the last 16 to 20 years and in these circumstances we all rejoice that, though we lose greatly by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal not standing again as Chancellor, we gain in having as his successor a Prince of such reputation and solid work behind him in the person of His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, and I would like finally to tender our congratulations also to His Highness of Cutch for being re-elected Pro-Chancellor and to express the hope that, now that His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir will have 12 months more to deal with the important work which lies before him, he will next year come and take his due place amongst us in the Standing Committee and in higher offices. I believe to-day, Sir, is the Jubilee or the official anniversary of the 25th year of the reign of His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar and I think I shall not be ruled out of order if I take this opportunity of expressing congratulations and good wishes of this House to His Highness.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala:** I support it.

**His Highness the Chief Saheb of Sangli:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; Having had the pleasure and privilege of being associated with His Highness the Chancellor at the meetings of the Standing Committee, I feel I cannot let this opportunity slip without paying to him my humble tribute of grateful appreciation for the manner in which he has performed his exacting duties. The work that His Highness has done as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes has been of a very high order. His Highness had conceived a plan and a purpose for the year of his chancellorship, and he gallantly stuck to them, notwithstanding the fact that, by virtue of his position, a Chancellor has to face many difficulties and distractions. The work to be performed during the year was of the most important kind. Not only were there the questions which the Chamber has had to deal with in the ordinary course since its creation, but there were also problems arising out of the work of the Round Table Conference which involved the most momentous issues affecting the future of our Order, our States, India as a whole and the Empire. We may well consider ourselves fortunate in having had such an able and distinguished Chancellor as His Highness during the period when the Round

Table Conference went through the second stage of its work. The work which His Highness put forward at all meetings whether formal or informal bore the vivid hall-marks of close personal study, great application and ungrudging devotion. There was not a point of view which he had not mastered, and he was thus able to give a very useful lead to the meetings, which he was always able to manage with tact and success. The high office held by His Highness has brought to our notice the noble qualities of head and heart with which he is so abundantly endowed, which entitle him to our high esteem, regard and admiration. His Highness has done valuable work with regard to the important questions of Paramountcy and Ceremonials. We owe him our warm and grateful thanks for the great zeal, ability, devotion and public spirit with which he has discharged the onerous duties of his high office. I trust that the Chamber will continue to benefit by His Highness' weighty contributions even though he has laid down the reins of his high office. With these words I have genuine pleasure in heartily associating myself with the Resolution expressing our gratitude to His Highness.

**The Ruling Chief of Surguja:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It gives me very great pleasure indeed to support this resolution. His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal assumed charge of his responsible office at a most critical period in our history, and there can be no two opinions that he has thoroughly justified the choice of his brother Princes during the short term that he has been our leader. As one who had special opportunities of watching His Highness' activities as leader of the States Delegation in London, I can testify to the great zeal and exceptional ability with which he represented our interests at the Round Table Conference. I cannot help giving expression to my sincere regret that His Highness has not found it possible to continue as our Chancellor till the conclusion of the task of constitution-making to which he has lent his able hand. It is my earnest hope, however, that although His Highness may officially cease to be our leader from to-day, he will continue to be our friend, philosopher and guide till such time when he will be prevailed upon to return to the distinguished office of Chancellor which he has so greatly adorned during the last 12 months.

**Raja of Sarila:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I deem it an honour to support the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and seconded and supported by Their Highnesses. Their Highnesses the Moyer, Seconder and Supporter have expressed the sentiments of this House by paying their tribute to the numerous qualities of His Highness the Chancellor. I think, I will be failing in my duty, if I let the opportunity pass without giving expression to the feelings of gratitude that I entertain towards His Highness the Chancellor. His Highness assumed the charge of his responsible office at a most critical juncture. No sooner responsibility fell upon His Highness' shoulders than he applied himself heart and soul to the task. His activities as Chancellor were many and varied and his indefatigable energy and zeal were always utilised in the service of the Princeely Order.

I had the pleasure and privilege of serving on the Second Round Table Conference as a Delegate. His Highness the Chancellor was the Leader of our Delegation and I had the good fortune of being associated with him. The tact and zeal with which he led the Delegation through the discussions of the complicated problems won for him our admiration. His

grasp of the situation, farsightedness and impartiality are the secret of the success of the Delegations work in London. Besides formally representing the Indian States at the Conference, His Highness had also to preside over our deliberations at the informal meetings and the statesmanlike ability and friendly manner in which he conducted the debates there, are beyond praise.

His Highness was also responsible for taking up the question of Paramountcy and Ceremonials with His Excellency the Viceroy, and we are sure His Excellency, with his wide and intimate knowledge of the affairs of the States and sympathy he entertains towards the Princes, will be kind enough to decide the matter to the satisfaction of all the States.

I feel sure that it would be the desire of all the Rulers of the Smaller States that our grateful and united thanks be tendered to His Highness the Chancellor for the interest he has taken in promoting the cause of the Entire Order.

I have no doubt that although His Highness may be relinquishing his office as Chancellor to-day, he will continue to take the same interest in the affairs of the Order as hitherto and will always lend his hand in helping the common cause of Indian States.

With these words I support the resolution.

**The Raja of Korea:** It is with infinite pleasure that I rise to add my feeble voice and echo the great and eloquent tributes that have been paid to the great work of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal as our Chancellor. It is not only a matter of pleasure to me but one of privilege to associate myself with the words, and with the Resolution of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, for the retiring Chancellor and I have every hope that the remarks of appreciation that have fallen from the previous speakers represent the wish and appreciation of the whole House. Those of us who have known His Highness personally will readily testify to the able and untiring manner in which he has handled his task and has been conscientiously trying to work, to promote our interests, and to advance our cause both here in India and at the Round Table Conference in London. His Highness has also very creditably and very admirably upheld the dignity and the traditions of his high office which were established by his distinguished predecessors. His Highness' work at the Round Table Conference, in advocating our cause in the discussions relating to the question of Federation and in generally supporting the standpoint of the States, is also a matter which deserves our sincere praise. His Highness' unfailing courtesy and brilliance has endeared him to us all and I am perfectly certain that, now, when, he is laying the mantle of his high office, the whole House will rise to honour him and pay him a fit tribute for his sincere and devoted services. With these words, Your Excellency, I very heartily support the Resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** Your Highnesses have heard the Resolution proposed, seconded and supported. Is it your pleasure that the Resolution be passed?

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

**His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; All that has been said in this Chamber this morning is calculated to render me speechless. I am deeply touched but at the same time greatly embarrassed. I cannot hope to express in an adequate manner my real feelings but it is my solemn duty to make an attempt to do so.

Your Highnesses will believe me when I say that I regard this as easily the proudest moment of my life. At the same time, I am bound to say that Your Highnesses have been over-generous in your united praise of my work—a praise which has been put very high. For my part, I feel that I have only endeavoured to do my duty. It is certainly very encouraging of Your Highnesses to regard that duty as well done. Nor can I claim as entirely due to my own initiative any efforts that have been made during the last twelve months for obtaining recognition of the rights of the States in a variety of spheres. All these efforts were inspired and guided by Your Highnesses, and it is noble of you to thank me for something which was really done by you and which could never have been achieved without your active support and assistance.

May I at once say that whether I am Chancellor or not, I shall regard it as my solemn duty to go on working as I have done, to continue my co-operation with Your Highnesses, and I trust Your Highnesses realise without my saying so, that my humble services are, and shall continue to be at your disposal and command.

Your Highnesses, let me conclude by thanking you from the bottom of my heart for all your appreciation and for the handsomeness which you have attached to my retirement from office. My work as Chancellor has been a joy, and if I have willingly and ungrudgingly decided to transfer it to other hands, it is because of my confidence that it will be far more ably performed by my successor.

I join His Highness of Bikaner in tending my most respectful and firm congratulations to His Highness the Jam Saheb, my successor to the office of Chancellorship.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I have to inform Your Highnesses that His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar has left a message in the hands of Sir Charles Watson which, I think, you would wish that he should read out to you.

The Hon'ble Sir Charles Watson then read the following message from His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar:—“Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It is a source of great regret to me that I cannot be present in person to thank Your Highnesses for the signal mark of confidence which you have conferred upon me. As many of Your Highnesses know, it was necessary for me to return to Jamnagar in order to participate in the religious ceremonies falling due on the occasion of my Silver Jubilee which according to the Indian dates occurs on April 2nd. The social celebrations connected with the event will take place whenever Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon can honour me with a visit and I hope at the same time to have the privilege of welcoming many of my Brother Princes. And I should like to assure you that no engagement of any lesser importance would have been suffered to prevent me from rendering to you all my thanks in person. But though I may, as indeed I do, regret this circumstance, my absence from the Chamber at the time of the election is, from another standpoint, a source of satisfaction to me:

since it is clear that Your Highnesses have taken your decision in the only fashion which affords a positive guarantee that you have taken it without any influence from me.

Your Highnesses, I am proud to think that at this juncture in our fortunes, you should have such confidence in me as to constitute me the mouthpiece of this Chamber. While the weight of the responsibility with which you are entrusting me makes me diffident of my own powers, I must frankly own that I look forward with the keenest pleasure to the opportunity of working in close association with my esteemed and revered friend His Excellency Lord Willingdon, our President. The fact that his wise counsel and powerful co-operation will, I know, be available to me, encourages me to hope that I may achieve a measure of success which, without such aid, I could not attain. I will endeavour to do my duty impartially, and, as I hope, the friend of all. I am no lover of secret diplomacy of organised parties within our Order. In this connection I am sure Your Highnesses will not misunderstand me if I see in my election a definite mandate to smooth over the asperities of personal differences; to recognise the right of divergent views to be heard and respected: and to conduct the business entrusted to me frankly, openly, and as the servant of the entire Order. And may I earnestly appeal to the members of this Chamber, as well as to my colleagues of the Standing Committee, to co-operate actively with me in labouring on behalf of the common cause in the difficult task before us at this critical juncture in the history of India. It is in the confident expectation that this appeal will meet with a generous response, that I embark with confidence, if with all humility upon the work with which you have so generously and affectionately entrusted me.

Your Highnesses, once again I thank you. I can only say I am deeply touched with the signal mark of confidence you have reposed in me.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** The next business is reply of members and representative members to His Excellency the Viceroy's opening address.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch:** Your Excellency; I have to tender the reply of this house to Your Excellency's opening address. I may add that I do so at the special request of His Highness the Chancellor the Ruler of Bhopal.

Your Excellency, our practice during the past many years, in replying to the Viceroy's address, has been to deal with most of those points which arose out of such address, and to state our views on such points. In addition we used to introduce into our reply other points to which we desired to draw the Viceroy's attention. This year, it happens that due to the opportunity afforded us by Your Excellency's kindness, we have already discussed not merely the points occurring in your address, but also extraneous matters. Therefore, there is very little that we can say.

In the case of the Viceroy who was presiding over our Chamber for the first time, it was our practice to extend to him a warm welcome. In Your Excellency's case, instead of waiting for the last day of our session when our reply is read, we moved and carried unanimously, and enthusiastically, a Resolution of welcome to Your Excellency. We can therefore only re-affirm the sentiments which we have expressed, and reinforce our good wishes for Your Excellency's success.

We have already moved formal resolutions on two topics touched upon in Your Excellency's address, namely, the great qualities of those of our brothers who are no longer with us in this world, and the sanguine hopes we all entertain of those who have taken their places and have been welcomed by us in this Chamber. We shall not now add to what has already been said. But we desire to thank Your Excellency for the kind sentiments which you expressed alike for the former and the latter.

Nor need we here refer to the two matters which have for years past lain close to our hearts, namely, details of Ceremonials and the operation of Paramountcy and as a separate Resolution thanking Your Excellency for your attitude towards these matters has already been moved and unanimously carried, in this Chamber.

It is not even necessary for us at this stage to express any views about the prospects of Federation. On the day of Your Excellency's address, the position was perhaps in some doubt. That doubt was happily dispelled yesterday, and our attitude was clearly defined in the Resolution that was unanimously passed. The wording of that Resolution did not afford scope for the expression of the conviction which we hold very strongly. Although we have welcomed and supported the attractive idea of Federation, we are quite clear in our minds that India must remain within the Empire and the British connection must be maintained. We say this not merely because we desire the Crown to protect our rights; we say this because we are convinced that this connection should remain, for as far as we can see ahead, it is for the good of India.

Before bringing this reply to a close, would you permit me, Sir, to thank you for the great kindness with which you have presided over our deliberations. Big decisions have been taken on great constitutional questions in this session which will be memorable in the history of India.

And now we desire once again to affirm our faith in your friendship, and we trust that this friendship will abide and remain constant. Your Excellency knows what value we attach to happy relations with the King Emperor's representative and to his good will, and we are confident of these during your term of office.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** That closes our business for to-day, and in closing this session of your Chamber perhaps I may be allowed first of all to echo and to associate myself in every way with all the references which many of Your Highnesses have made to the work of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal. I can say from personal experience—and he and I have been closely associated for very nearly a year—that our association has been, and I shall always look upon it with the greatest satisfaction for that fact, one of the closest friendship and the most happy relationship in every possible way. I should like to thank His Highness the Maharao of Cutch most sincerely for his charming remarks which he has just addressed to your Chamber. He has expressed the hope that His Majesty's representative will show an interest in Your Order and in the Princes. You may be quite sure that as far as the present Viceroy is concerned, from old associations of many long years, that is sure to be an accomplished fact so long as he remains Viceroy of India. And I should like, in a very few words, to thank Your Highnesses most sincerely for the courtesy and consideration which you have given to me during my presiding over the first session of the Chamber as far as I am individually concerned, a session which I think may prove to be very likely one of the most historic and momentous in the history of your Chamber.

May I add that I trust that you will all return to your various States, notwithstanding your strenuous labours at Delhi, refreshed and re-invigorated by the atmosphere of our capital city and determined, as I am sure you all will be determined, to work in the future as you have always done in the past, for the good of your States, for the welfare of India and for the unity of the British Empire.

The Chamber will now adjourn, but I would ask Your Highnesses, before you do adjourn, if you will listen for a few moments to His Highness of Kapurthala. He has something to say to you.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala:** Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I am grateful to His Excellency for kindly allowing me to address Your Highnesses on the subject of the proposed statue of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, which is to be erected in New Delhi. Your Highnesses will, perhaps, remember that in March 1930 I broached the idea of a statue of His Majesty to commemorate his recovery from serious illness and to symbolise in a tangible form our attachment and loyalty to the person and throne of the King-Emperor. It was suggested that the statue should be located in the Imperial Capital of New Delhi, the inception and completion of which will always be associated with His Imperial Majesty's august reign. The response to my appeal on the part of a great number of Ruling Princes and Chiefs was characteristically most generous and Your Highnesses will be glad to know that approximately a lakh and ten thousand rupees has been collected up to date. The original estimate of Sir Edwin Lutyens upon which the first appeal for funds was based amounted to eight thousand pounds. Sir Edwin Lutyens has designed a statue of marble and sandstone depicting His Majesty seated on an elephant in a howdah with an overhanging canopy. The revised estimate framed by the P. W. D., Delhi., for work to be done in India *plus* the cost of the actual statue now amounts to roughly two lakhs of rupees. As I felt that it would be very difficult to collect two lakhs I have suggested to Sir Edwin Lutyens that the proposed canopy should be dispensed with. In fact I believe Your Highnesses will agree that His Majesty's figure would show better without the canopy and its elimination would really be an improvement rather than an impairment of the scheme. Without the canopy the whole cost of the scheme is likely to range in the vicinity of one lakh seventy thousand rupees. As I have stated above the funds in hand amount to one lakh ten thousand rupees and it now remains to collect Rs. 60,000 more. As I have remarked above, most of the Princes and Chiefs have already responded most generously to my appeal but I am still expecting replies from several who, I hope, will also respond in a liberal spirit. Last summer in the course of an audience that I had the honour of having I submitted the scheme to His Majesty. His Majesty was graciously pleased to accord his approval. The scheme has reached a definite stage. As soon as the extra funds that are required are forthcoming the work to be done in India will be taken in hand by the P. W. D. I assure Your Highnesses that every endeavour will be made to produce a statue which will be a befitting tribute of loyalty and affection which the Princes and Chiefs of India entertain towards the person and Throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor. It is hoped that the statue will be inaugurated in the cold weather of 1933-34.

Before I sit down I beg to thank Your Excellency and Your Highnesses for the patience and courtesy with which you have listened to this account of the progress of the scheme of His Majesty's statue.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:** I need only say that I am sure we all appreciate the energy and zeal with which His Highness of Kapurthala has gone forward with this undertaking and express the hope that before long we shall find a very fine statue erected on an approved site which will be a worthy memorial to our beloved King-Emperor.

This concluded the proceedings of the day.

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**RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES (NARENDRA MANDAL) DURING THE SESSION HELD ON THE 28TH MARCH 1932 AND FOLLOWING DAYS.**

**Agendum No. 1.**

*Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to His Excellency Lord Willingdon as Viceroy of India.*

*Resolved.*—The Chamber of Princes offers a hearty welcome to His Excellency Lord Willingdon on his assumption of the office of Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and tenders its sincerest good wishes to His Excellency.

**Agendum No. 2.**

*Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal on the deaths of Their late Highnesses the Maharajas of Cochin, Benares and Idar, His late Highness the ex-Raja of Cochin and the ex-Raja of Bilaspur.*

*Resolved.*—The Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the lamentable demise of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Cochin, Idar and Benares, His late Highness the ex-Raja of Cochin and the ex-Raja Saheb of Bilaspur, together with the sense of the loss thereby sustained by the entire Order of Princes, and offers its sincerest sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families.

**Agendum No. 3.**

*Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to Their Highnesses of Travancore, Cochin, Bhavnagar, Idar and Benares, the Nawab Saheb of Loharu and the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot.*

*Resolved.*—The Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Travancore, Bhavnagar, Benares, Cochin and Idar, and the Nawab Saheb of Loharu and the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot on their assumption of powers and welcomes them all in its midst wishing them a long and prosperous reign.

**Agendum No. 4.**

*To receive a statement from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year.*

*Resolved.*—That this Chamber records its appreciation of the work done by the Standing Committee and its gratitude for the services rendered by Their Highnesses who belonged to it.

**Agendum No. 5.**

*To receive from His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal the report circulated by Khan Bahadur Dewan Abdul Hamid, regarding his work as a representative of India at the last meeting of the League of Nations.*

*Resolved.*—That the Chamber of Princes expresses its appreciation of the creditable manner in which Dewan Abdul Hamid acquitted himself at the League of Nations: and that the thanks of the Chamber and an expression of its appreciation should be conveyed to him.

**Agendum No. 6.**

*Resolution of thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for having taken up with His Highness the Chancellor and the representatives of the Chamber the questions of Paramountcy and Ceremonials.*

*Resolved.*—The Chamber of Princes places on record its sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for having taken up with His Highness the Chancellor and the representatives of the Chamber the questions of Paramountcy and Ceremonials, the early settlement of which is of vital importance to the States, and expresses the earnest hope that they will be disposed of satisfactorily at the earliest possible moment.

**Agendum No. 7.**

*Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala that the membership of the Standing Committee may be increased to 9, the quorum being five, and that the election and other provisions relating to Substitute Members may be deleted.*

*Resolved.*—This Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that Part II of the First Regulations be amended in such a manner as to:—

(a) raise the number of the members of the Standing Committee to nine permanently, including the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor, quorum still remaining five: and to eleven until the important work in connection with the Round Table Conference lasts; and

(b) delete the provisions relating to election, etc., of the Substitute Members:

and that His Excellency the Viceroy be pleased to approve of and give effect to this change before the elections are held during this Chamber session.

**Agendum No. 8.***Elections.*

*Resolved.*—That according to the largest number of votes His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar be elected as Chancellor.

*Resolved.*—That according to the largest number of votes His Highness the Maharao of Cutch be elected as Pro-Chancellor.

*Resolved.*—That the following Princes be elected as members of the Standing Committee:—

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.  
 His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.  
 His Highness the Chief of Sangli.  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.  
 His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.  
 His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur.

**Agendum No. 10.**

*Resolution regarding the work of the Indian States Delegation to the Round Table Conference.*

*Resolved:*—

1. This Chamber declares that the States will join an all-India Federation on the assumption that the Crown will accept responsibility for securing to them the following guarantees:—
  - (a) that the necessary safeguards will be embodied in the Constitution;
  - (b) that under the Constitution, their rights, arising from treaties or Sanads or Engagements remain inviolate and inviolable;
  - (c) that the sovereignty and internal independence of the States remain intact and are preserved and fully respected and that the obligations of the Crown to the States remain unaltered.
2. To secure this end, this Chamber authorises its representatives further to carry on negotiations in accordance with the mandate given to them at the informal meetings of the Princes: and retains the right to examine the whole Constitution in its completed form and the draft Bill before the final ratification by the Chamber and by each individual State.

**Agendum No. 11.**

*Acquisition of non-residential property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.*

*Resolved.*—That the recommendations of the Standing Committee be generally accepted by the Chamber.

**Agendum No. 12.**

*Resolution of thanks by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to His Highness the Chancellor.*

*Resolved* :—

That the Narendra Mandal places on record its deep sense of gratefulness for, and appreciation of, the work performed by our recent Chancellor His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal. During his term of office His Highness devoted considerable labour and attention to the interests of the Princes on questions of supreme importance such as federation, paramountcy and ceremonials, with very beneficial results

**Agendum No. 13.**

*Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Panna regarding the appreciation of the services rendered to the States by the Indian States Delegation to the Round Table Conference.*

*Resolved.*—That this Chamber places on record its sincere appreciation of the service to the cause of the States rendered by the Indian States Delegation, in advocating their just claims at the Round Table Conference; more especially, this Chamber desires to record its gratitude for the scrupulous manner in which its representatives adhered to the mandate given by the Resolutions of this Chamber.





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